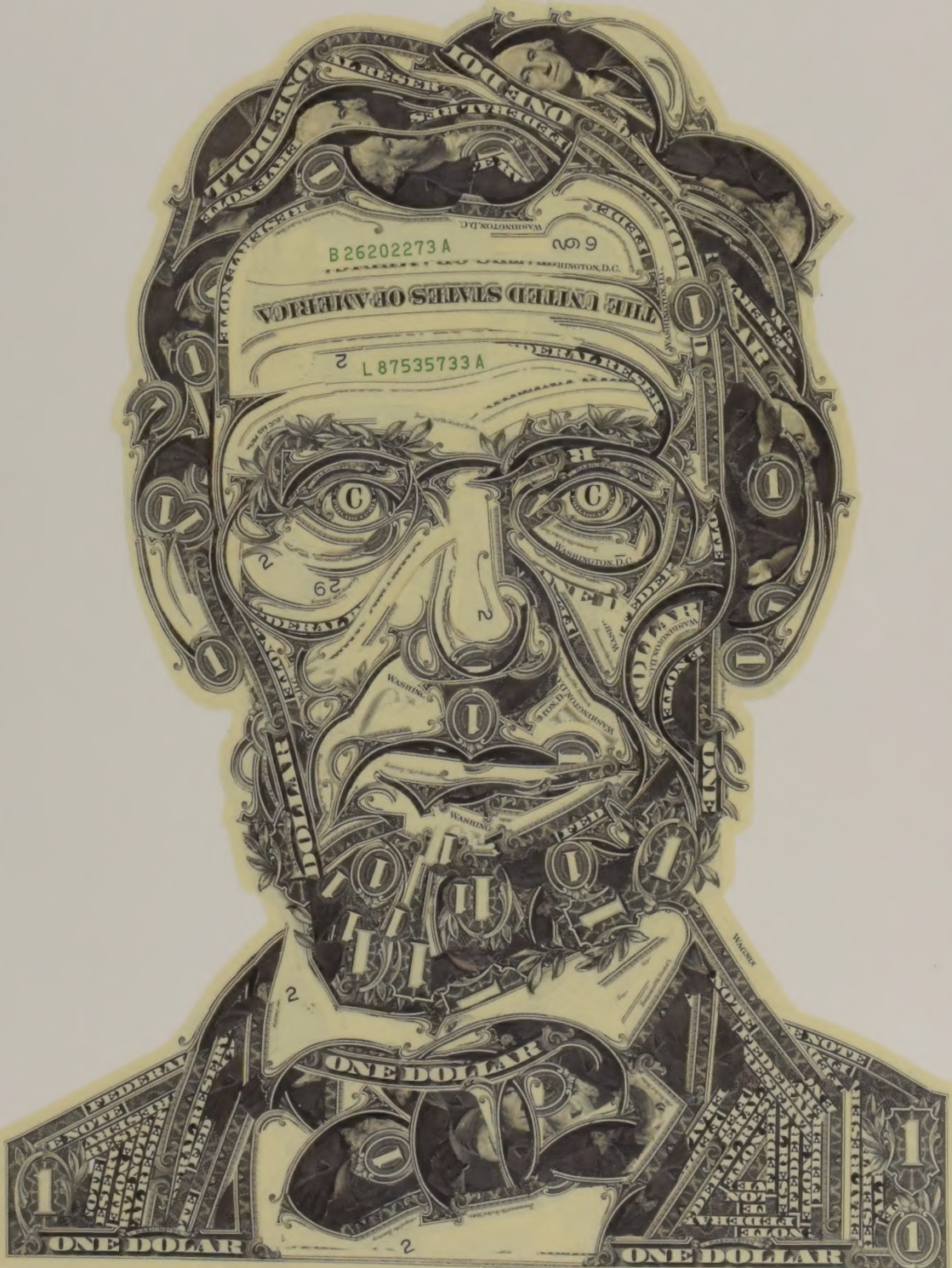


ANS

AMERICAN
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2016
ISSUE 2



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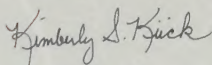
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ANA Executive Director



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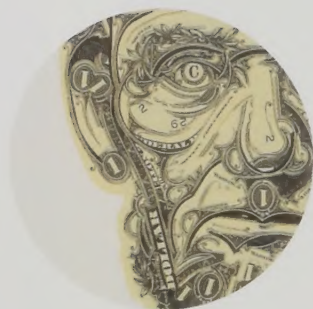


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DEPARTMENTS



on the cover:

Lincoln (Mark Wagner, 2013, currency on panel)

16 × 12 in. Used by permission of the artist.

Mark will be exhibiting a new body of currency collage this fall at Pavel Zoubok Gallery in New York City, September 8–October 15.

5 From the Executive Director

Ute Wartenberg Kagan

46 Collections

Elena Stolyarik

60 Book Review

Oliver Hoover

64 News

FEATURES

American Numismatic Society

JUN 21 2016

Library



6

Gateway to the World, Corner of Nowhere: Provence in the Merovingian Period

David Yoon



16

Saint Joan of the Upper West Side: A New York Statue Turns 100

David Hill

Numismatic Periodicals



30

Subverting Currency: Money, Art, and Message

Andrew Reinhard

Numismatic Periodicals

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The American Numismatic Society, organized in 1858 and incorporated in 1865 in New York State, operates as a research museum under Section 501(c)(3) of the Code and is recognized as a publicly supported organization under section 170(b)(1)(A)(vi) as confirmed on November 1, 1970. The original objectives of the ANS, "the collection and preservation of coins and medals, the investigation of matters connected therewith, and the popularization of the science of Numismatics," have evolved into the mission ratified by the Society's Board in 2003, and amended in 2007.

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From the Executive Director

Ute Wartenberg Kagan

Dear Members and Friends,

In my letter in the last issue of the *ANS Magazine*, I wrote about some of the issues that the Society faces over the next few years, in particular the expenses of operating in New York City. I am very grateful for all of the interesting communications that I received in response, and as the Board of Trustees will begin to consider our strategy for the next few years, we will continue to involve our membership in the discussion about the general direction of the Society.

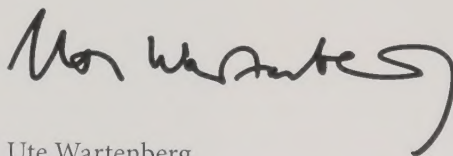
The American Numismatic Society was founded and still is supported by collectors, which clearly differentiates us from other major cabinets in the US and Europe. At the heart of our institution are our coin and book collections, which are largely the gifts of collectors, and it is for that reason that our staff is focused on curating, researching, and sharing the collection with anyone interested in numismatics. Curators and collectors have always co-existed in a friendly but sometimes antagonistic relationship. Collecting is as much the hunt for certain objects as the desire to learn about history. On the other hand, curators, in particular if they are more orientated towards research, are often much less concerned with buying than with cataloguing and creating order. It is not by accident that the great cataloguing projects in numismatics originate in places like the British Museum. Numismatics as a discipline relies on the concept of large collections of very similar, some would say identical coins, which can be studied and organized. In turn, it is often the catalogue itself, which allows collectors to buy a certain series and discover specimens not listed or overlooked. This categorization is obviously schematic, and there is considerable overlap between curators and collectors, who both often also do research and produce outstanding scholarship.

As collecting of ancient coins for museums and private individuals is changing to accommodate more stringent guidelines, the relationship between collectors and museums is becoming at times strained, which is regrettable. A recent example of anti-museum rhetoric came

recently across my desk. The email was encouraging collectors to take a strong stand against the proposed renewal of the US State Department's Memorandum of Understanding with Greece, and in this context, it was further stated that the British Museum's coin department with all its coins was difficult to access for most people. Presumably as a result of this perceived difficulty of accessing museum collections, "private collecting of coins is very important." Several parts of this argument strike me as inappropriate. Foremost, no private individual has to make their collections available to anyone else, nor keep their coins properly conserved or published online. The situation is rather different for museums, which hold their collections for the public good. I also have to say that no other institution known to me takes public access more seriously than the British Museum. To this day, it is free of charge, and most money for its operations comes from British taxpayers. The Coins and Medals Department has a dedicated students room, in which any visitor can view coins. In 2014, 294 visitors viewed an impressive total of 58,273 coins, and in 2015, some 229 people viewed 57,170 coins. By any measure these figures are impressive. In comparison, the ANS received in its special viewing area about half that number of people in the two years in question.

Bashing the British Museum—or any other public collection—does not help in the serious debate about private collecting and its new restrictions. Collectors and curators are in the same boat when it comes to restrictions imposed by governments, and only cooperation will lead to a workable solution that allows private and public collecting.

Yours truly,



Ute Wartenberg



Facing page: The baptism of Clovis I, the king of the Franks who conquered much of modern France in the early sixth century, as imagined by an unknown late medieval artist, c. 1500 (courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.).

GATEWAY TO THE WORLD, CORNER OF NOWHERE: Provence in the Merovingian Period

David Yoon

Almost a century ago, the great Belgian historian Henri Pirenne declared that “Charlemagne, sans Mahomet, serait inconcevable” (Pirenne 1922: 86). With these words summing up what has become known as the “Pirenne thesis”, Pirenne offered an important argument about long-term economic change in early medieval western Europe. Put briefly, Pirenne argued that the reorientation of western Europe from the Mediterranean to the North Sea was a fundamental change in historical trajectory that occurred after the conquest of North Africa and the Levant by Muslim Arabs divided the Mediterranean into separate Islamic and Christian spheres, severing the Mediterranean trade routes of antiquity. This bold argument connected events between regions and periods that European historians, in that era, rarely considered in relation to each other.

In the decades since Pirenne proposed this argument, most of the details have been challenged, often by new archaeological or numismatic evidence. It is now clear that the Christian and Islamic halves of the Mediterranean were always connected (e.g., McCormick 2002) and that the economic changes occurred gradually over a much longer period of time (e.g., Wickham 2005). Nevertheless, it is also clear—in fact, much clearer than it was in Pirenne’s day—that a geographic and cultural reorientation of the European economy in the early Middle Ages did take place.

Provence in Late Antiquity

In the Late Roman world, Gaul was no longer as important and wealthy a region of the empire as it had

been under the earlier emperors. The centers of wealth and influence in the empire had moved to eastern and southern regions such as present-day Tunisia, Turkey, and Syria. Many of the towns of northern Gaul had dwindled to little more than fortified administrative outposts, and the rural population of the countryside around them had also diminished. In the south, though, closer to the Mediterranean, the ancient towns continued to remain centers of cultural and economic activity.

Over the course of the fifth century, the western half of the Roman Empire collapsed militarily and politically; various warlords who identified more with Germanic tribes than with the Roman tradition established military control over its territories. The provinces of Gaul ceased to be an integral part of the Roman state and instead found themselves ruled by the kings of the Visigoths, Franks, Burgundians, and Ostrogoths. The territories of these new kingdoms were unstable at first, but by the middle of the sixth century more stable frontiers had been established, with the Franks ruling most of Gaul, but the Visigoths retaining part of the Mediterranean coast in Lower Languedoc (fig. 1).

Even after the political frontiers of the western Roman Empire collapsed, southern Gaul remained a part of the integrated Mediterranean world of late antiquity. The Goths and Franks assumed military and political control of the region, but the culture and the economy remained thoroughly Late Roman. Excavations in Mediterranean France have shown how closely integrated the region was into the Mediterranean eco-

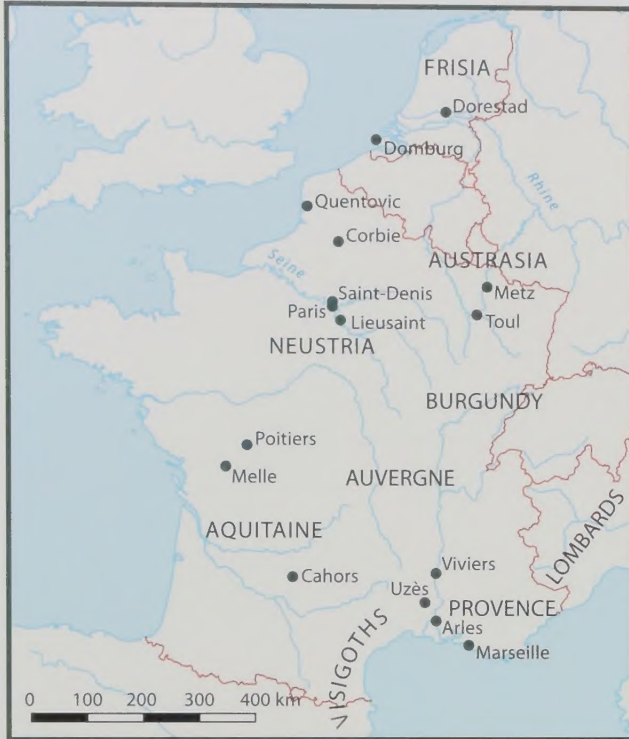


Fig. 1: This map shows the major regions and locations discussed in the text in relation to modern political boundaries.



Fig. 2: Amphora from the Yassiada shipwreck in western Turkey, Late Roman amphora 2 type, c. AD 625 (photograph by Don Frey, courtesy of the Institute of Nautical Archaeology). This type of amphora was made in the Aegean Sea region to transport liquid commodities; they are known from many sites of the sixth and seventh centuries in southern France, where their presence attests to active long-distance trade in the Mediterranean.



Fig. 3: Plate of African Red Slip ware, type Hayes 104A, c.500–580 (photograph by Sebastian Heath). African Red Slip ware, made in what is now Tunisia, was exported throughout the Mediterranean basin in late antiquity. In many excavations from southern France it is as abundant as the plates and bowls made within southern France at the same time.

Fig. 4: Bronze throne attributed to the Merovingian king Dagobert I (623–639), with arms and back added later (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Throne_of_Dagobert_bronze_Cabinet_des_Medailles.jpg). This throne, originally in the form of a chair associated with Roman magistrates, was both a representation of Frankish royal power and a representation of the continued significance of Roman tradition.



conomic world. In the sixth century, large numbers of ceramic containers called “amphorae” that were used for shipping liquid commodities such as olive oil, wine, and fish sauce were imported into southern Gaul from the regions that are now Tunisia, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, and Egypt. Even if the amphorae are excluded, the pottery fragments found in excavations in southern France include substantial quantities, commonly exceeding 10%, of plate, bowls, and cooking pots made in those southern or eastern Mediterranean regions (e.g., Bonifay et al. 1998; Démians d’Archimbaud 1994), indicating substantial commerce in low-value utilitarian household goods (figs. 2 and 3).

The aristocracy of southern Gaul remained culturally part of the Roman world long after the political boundaries had changed. Caesarius, bishop of Arles (d. 542), was perhaps the last Gallic writer to have significant influence among contemporaries beyond Gaul, but the literary culture that produced him continued to exist for a few more generations, with figures such as Ferreolus, bishop of Uzès (d. 581), and Gregory, bishop of Tours but a native of Auvergne (d. 593), whose history of the Merovingian realm in his time blended classical rhetoric with the religious preoccupations that would come to mark medieval literature (Goffart 1988). Even in the seventh century, significant vestiges of Roman literary culture can be seen in the letters of Desiderius, bishop of Cahors (d. 655), and his circle of friends (Mathisen 2013).

Coinage and Authority in Merovingian France

Despite the continuity from Roman to Gothic to Frankish rule observed in these economic and cultural areas, the political system changed in important ways. Most obviously, this can be seen in the less formalized, sometimes haphazard structures of regional power. The kingdom of the Franks, ruled by the Merovingian dynasty from the 460s until 751, was long distinguished by a tendency to fission and fusion. When a king was survived by multiple sons, the kingdom would be partitioned between them as co-equal kings. When one of these regional kings then died without sons or was overthrown by one of his relatives, regions would be reunited under a single ruler. In the sixth and seventh centuries there were two or more Frankish kings more often than not, but because so many of them met early, violent deaths, the realm tended to reunify in the long run. By the end of the seventh century, when the kings no longer wielded any significant power, the Frankish realm was generally dominated by the family known as the Pippinids or Arnulfings, the ancestors of Charlemagne, and they usually maintained only one figure-head Merovingian king at a time.

As distinctively Merovingian coinage began to develop in the sixth century, it began to show the changing nature of political authority. Roman coinage was designed to carry an unambiguous message of imperial supremacy wherever it went, but authority in the Merovingian realm was of a different kind, frequently shared or contested, more negotiable than absolute (fig. 4). The earliest Merovingian coins are imitations of Byzantine or Gothic types, naming the Byzantine emperor on the obverse and showing a conventional depiction of imperial victory on the reverse (fig. 5).

In the 570s, the Visigothic coins of Spain made a change from such vaguely imperial types to clear statements of Visigothic royal authority (Miles 1952, 45). Around the same time, mints from most parts of the Merovingian realm also abandoned reference to the emperors in Constantinople, but they did not, in general, replace this with a statement of Frankish royal authority. Instead, the two pieces of information that were most often considered important to place on the coins were the name of a city or institution, presumably the place of issue, and the name of a moneyer, presumably the person responsible for issuing those coins (figs. 6 and 7).

A gold coin can function as an economic object regardless of what is written on it; however, as political instruments Merovingian coins clearly served a different function from their Roman predecessors. Instead of carrying a proclamation of power and sovereignty, they instead display local marks of responsibility. In part this may reflect royal indifference to control of the minting process, but it also suggests a new attitude to the idea of kingship, just as the divisions of the Merovingian realm did (Grierson and Blackburn 1986, 97–98).

The main regional exception to this development was Provence. For decades after most other Merovingian mints had abandoned reference to Byzantine emperors on their coins, the mints of Provence continued to issue coins that named the current emperor. These so-called quasi-imperial coins remained very much a part of the late antique Mediterranean world, at a time when coins in the rest of the Merovingian realm were evolving into something quite different from their Roman and Byzantine ancestors (Uhalde 2001).

Although easily differentiated from contemporary Byzantine coins on various features, the quasi-imperial coins remained close to them in design (figs. 8 and 9). In fact, the Byzantine-like features of these coins differ so much from the coins minted in the rest of the Merovingian realm after the 560s that past researchers sometimes suggested that they must reflect some sort

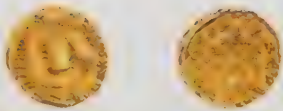


Fig. 5: Gold tremissis issued in Merovingian France, clumsily imitating contemporary Byzantine tremisses of the emperor Justinian I with a depiction on the reverse of a facing Victory holding laurel wreath and orb (ANS 1937.56.56, gift of May L. Wyman).



Fig. 6: Gold tremissis issued at Lieusaint by the moneyer Dacoaldus (ANS 1964.30.1, purchase).

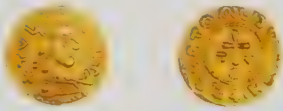


Fig. 7: Gold tremissis issued at Toul by the moneyer Dructoaldus (ANS 1967.182.251, bequest of Douglas P. Dickie).

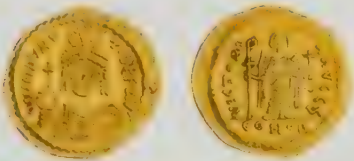


Fig. 8: Byzantine gold solidus of Maurice (582–602), Constantinople mint (ANS 1948.19.411, gift of Archer M. Huntington).

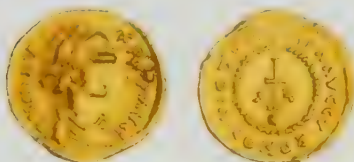


Fig. 9: Quasi-imperial solidus in the name of Maurice (582–602) minted at Arles in Provence (ANS 1990.25.1, purchase). The types are obviously very different from the official Byzantine coin in figure 8, but at the same time the style is considerably more Roman than the more typical Merovingian coins in figures 6 and 7.



Fig. 10: Quasi-imperial tremissis in the name of Maurice minted at Marseille (ANS 1956.25.44, purchase). The tremissis, one third of a solidus, was the predominant gold coin in western Europe in the sixth and seventh centuries.

of Byzantine connections (Rigold 1954), possibly via the Papacy (Grierson 1959). However, they are clearly distinct from any official Byzantine issues of the period. The particular types used are a grab-bag of features from earlier imitative coins of southern France, contemporary Byzantine coins from North Africa, and some new modifications or reinterpretations of motifs, such as the melding of a cross on a step with a cross on an orb. Moreover, the designs are not as professionally executed as the products of the Constantinople mint. However, the most interesting differences from official Byzantine coins are certain added features that may suggest the priorities of the issuers.

Two frequent additions to the reverse design convey pieces of information that were more important in Merovingian Provence than in the Byzantine empire: a mint mark and a value mark. The mint marks connect these coins specifically to southeastern France. The most common is MA for Marseille, but a number of others occur as well, including AR for Arles, VC for Uzès, and VIVA for Viviers (Uhalde 2001). (Two of these mints, Uzès and Viviers, are not in Provence as it is defined today. In the Merovingian period, though, the concept of the Massiliensis Provincia was not yet tied to the specific boundaries of the later medieval Counts of Provence.) On the coins of the rest of the Merovingian realm, the place of issue is the piece of information that is most consistently present, and although the reason for its importance is unclear, the presence of these marks on the quasi-imperial coins is a feature shared with most other Merovingian coins.

The value marks—XXI on solidi and VII on tremisses—speak to a different audience. The normative standard for a Byzantine solidus at the time was a weight of 24 siliquae of gold, or a little over 4.5 grams. Thus the tremissis (fig. 10), equivalent to one third of a solidus, had a normative weight of 8 siliquae. The weights of Merovingian coins, though, had decreased somewhat by the late sixth century, so that a tremissis was typically around 1.3 grams, or about 7 siliquae in Roman weight, and the solidus was correspondingly around 21 siliquae (Uhalde 2001). The information in the value marks was most useful not to people inside the Merovingian realm, where this reduced standard was the norm, but to those outside it, telling them that these coins weighed somewhat less than the accepted international standard.

Mediterranean Trade in the Seventh Century

These changes, one pointing each direction, are symbolic of the role of Provence in the Merovingian period as the most important point of connection between the Mediterranean and northwestern Europe. In addition to



Fig. 11: Harbor facilities and defenses of the ancient port of Marseille, partially silted in during the Middle Ages (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Marseille_-_Le_jardin_des_vestiges.JPG).

the archaeological evidence of trade mentioned above, the written documents of northern France offer testimony to how this connection was perceived at the time.

Although we must assume that the vast majority of the documents that were created in the Merovingian period have not survived in any form, a few ecclesiastical archives have preserved copies—or, very rarely, originals—of a handful of these documents. The abbeys of Saint-Denis (near Paris) and Corbie (in Picardy north of Paris) are among these few, and both preserved documents referring to the Mediterranean commerce of Provence.

Saint-Denis received a grant from King Dagobert I (629–639) of 100 solidi per year from the customs dues at the port of Marseille, and an exemption on tolls for transporting six cart-loads of olive oil (to be bought with this revenue) from Marseille to Saint-Denis (Giraud et al. 2010, nos. 4469, 4484). Although the original papyrus document of this grant does not survive, the

abbey obtained confirmations of it from several succeeding kings, and two of these confirmations (with slight variations of the terms) do survive.

Corbie received a much more ambitious grant from King Chlothar III (657–673), which similarly survives only in a copy of a confirmation by a later king. This concession granted the abbey a long list of commodities to be collected annually from the customs revenues of the port of Fos in Provence, including 10,000 pounds of olive oil as well as substantial quantities of fish sauce, spices, Mediterranean nuts and fruits, rice, leather, pigment, and papyrus (Levillain 1902, 236). This document is revealing of what a wealthy abbey in northern France might wish to obtain from Mediterranean trade in the seventh century; what is less clear is whether 10,000 pounds of olive oil, 30 pounds of pepper, and all the other commodities listed could really be collected from the tolls of Fos around 660.

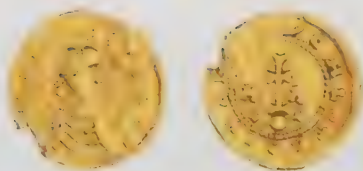


Fig. 12: Gold solidus issued at Marseille in the name of Chlothar II (584–629), probably after 613 when he became king of the entire Frankish realm (ANS 1949.49.2, purchase). The solidus was the principal denomination in which quantities of money were reckoned, but Provence was the only area in Merovingian France in which it was normally minted. Images enlarged.

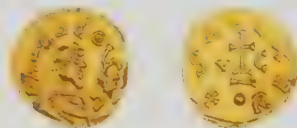


Fig. 13: Gold tremissis issued at Uzès in the name of Dagobert I (623–639) (ANS 1949.49.6, purchase). Retrograde legends are frequently encountered on Merovingian coins. Images enlarged.

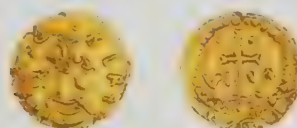


Fig. 14: Gold tremissis minted at Viviers in the name of Dagobert I (623–639) (ANS 1949.49.5, purchase). Images enlarged.



Fig. 15: Electrum signet ring from the Merovingian period, northern France (Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.191.93, www.metmuseum.org). The complex monogram on this ring suggests that its owner was someone in a position to seal documents, but in the decentralized Merovingian realm this meant a church figure or wealthy aristocrat more often than an official of a king. Image enlarged.



Fig. 16: Gold tremissis from the moneyer Madelinus at the mint of Dorestad, c. 630–670 (ANS 1944.100.74951, bequest of Edward T. Newell). Dorestad, located along the early medieval channel of the Rhine, was probably the most important of the new trading settlements that emerged around the North Sea during the seventh and eighth centuries. It served as an entrepôt connecting Austrasia to the trade networks of northern Europe. Images enlarged.

The clarity and specificity of the numbers in these grants can be deceptive. They give the appearance of being quantitative evidence for trade, but this is not necessarily valid (Loseby 2000). When an abbot in northern France obtained a grant from a royal patron in northern France, it is possible that the specifics about what could be obtained in Provence were based more on optimism than on informed calculation.

For most of the seventh century, archaeological evidence indicates that the Mediterranean trade of late antiquity continued at Marseille (fig. 11). The volume of this trade, however, may well have been shrinking. Excavations around the port of Marseille show significant quantities of imported ceramics (transport amphoras from North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean as well as plates and bowls from Tunisia) up to the end of the seventh century (Bonifay 1998, 358). However, the limited evidence available from other sites in southern France suggests that the abundant imports of the fifth and early sixth centuries dwindled rapidly after 550. By the middle of the seventh century, few sites other than Marseille show much evidence for non-local ceramics (cf. Bonifay et al. 1998; Démians d'Archimbaud 1994).

Nevertheless, even as the amount of trade declined, it seems to have been directed through Marseille as well as Fos and Arles. Even after long-distance trade ceased to be visible at most archaeological sites, a few places still received imported goods, such as Sant Peyre, a site located in the hills between Uzès and Viviers, interpreted by the excavators as an aristocratic residence that was destroyed by fire perhaps as late as the early eighth century (C. Pellecuer and J.-M. Pène in Leenhardt et al. 1993, 150–151). This house contained several amphoras from North Africa and from either Sicily or the Aegean, as well as a seal impression with Arabic writing.

The Reorientation of the Merovingian World

Although the quasi-imperial coinage ended around 615, similar coins, both solidi and tremisses, continued to be produced at the same mints until the 670s. Instead of the emperor's name, the obverse bore the name of the Frankish king who ruled Austrasia, the eastern part of the Frankish realm, with which Provence was most often connected (figs. 12–14).

Outside of a Merovingian context, putting the king's name on coins would not be particularly notable, but it is very unusual for Merovingian coins. Except in Provence (and briefly in the nearby Gévaudan), the king's name appeared only rarely and haphazardly on coins; as mentioned above, most coins referred only to a city or church and to a moneyer (Grierson and Blackburn 1986, 129).

The legacy of Roman culture in Merovingian Provence may be part of the reason for this unusually persistent recognition of royal sovereignty on coins, but a more important reason might be the way regional power in the Merovingian kingdom was managed (fig. 15). Royal power, even when the kingdom was partitioned, was centered far to the north, in Paris and Metz and other towns of northern France; in general, the Merovingian kings never visited Provence. Instead, there was normally a regional governor, called a rector or patrician, based at Marseille or Arles, who administered the Mediterranean portion of the kingdom (Uhalde 2001). These governors were functionally autonomous; the increasingly ineffective Merovingian kings exercised little authority in the outlying parts of the kingdom, and the aristocrats who exercised real authority at court were not yet able to dominate all parts of France (Lewis 1976). The customs revenues of the Mediterranean ports were probably what really mattered to the royal administration in the north, such as it was, and the royal coinage may be a result of this source of revenue, perhaps the most consistent source of monetary income left to the Frankish kings by this time (Loseby 1998). However, gold, at this time, was imported into France via the Mediterranean. As the trade through Marseille and other ports decreased, and as the Frankish realm became less able to produce or obtain goods for sale overseas (probably mostly slaves), the supply of gold for minting Merovingian coins must have diminished. This can be seen in the decreasing fineness of seventh-century Merovingian gold coins. In the sixth century, the composition of Merovingian coins could be more than 90% gold; by the third quarter of the seventh century, it could be 33% or less (e.g., Grierson and Blackburn 1986, nos. 406, 408–9).

Merovingian coins are not abundant in general, and most issues seem to have been very limited. However, there does seem to have been a shift in abundance during the seventh century from south to north. The quasi-imperial coins of the late sixth and early seventh centuries are a fairly abundant series, for Merovingian gold, as are the coins of Chalon-sur-Saône in Burgundy (directly up the Rhône valley from Provence), but the later royal coins of Provence are not. Instead, in the middle decades of the seventh century, some of the most abundant issues appear to be those from the far northeast, from what had been a very marginal region in Roman times.

Representative of this trend are a series bearing the names of a moneyer named Madelinus and the mint of Dorestad (fig. 16). It is possible that many examples are imitations produced neither by Madelinus nor at Dorestad, but they are in any case products of the mid-



Fig. 17: Map of important trading sites around the North Sea around the beginning of the eighth century.



Fig. 18: Silver denier minted at or near Poitiers, from the Bais hoard, buried c. 735–740 (ANS 1958.136.7, purchase). The sources of silver for Merovingian coins are mostly unknown, but chemical analysis suggests a distinct source for the coins of Poitiers (Téreygeol 2000). Images enlarged.



Fig. 19: Silver denier issued at Marseille by the patrician Nemfidius, c. 700–710 (ANS 1959.76.13, purchase). Images enlarged.



Fig. 20: Silver denier issued at Marseille by the patrician Nemfidius, c. 700–710 (ANS 1960.56.2, purchase). Images enlarged.

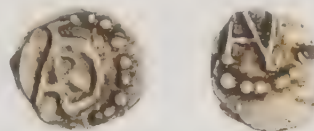


Fig. 21: Silver denier issued at Arles or Marseille by the patrician Antenor, c. 710–720 (ANS 1967.182.254, bequest of Douglas P. Dickie). Images enlarged.

seventh century from what is now the Netherlands. Their abundance points to a new development in the Merovingian economy, in which the town of Dorestad was one of the foremost examples.

During the seventh and eighth centuries, a series of new towns sprang up around the North Sea and English Channel. These towns, many of them on sites not previously occupied, were the locations of a growing network of trade that linked the Frankish lands with England, northern Germany, and Scandinavia (Hill and Cowie 2001). By the second half of the seventh century, sites such as Ipswich in East Anglia, Lundenwic (London) in Essex/Mercia, Dorestad and Domburg in Frisia/Austrasia, and Quentovic in Neustria displayed an economic dynamism without a parallel anywhere in western Mediterranean Europe at the time (fig. 17).

In the growing economy of the North Sea world, commerce and the use of coinage were expanding rather than shrinking, and the apparent shortage of gold is likely to have been felt most acutely in this region. It is probably in Neustria in northern France where a fundamental shift in Merovingian coinage first took place. Around the 670s, the minting of gold tremisses was replaced by the minting of silver deniers (Grierson and Blackburn 1986, 94–95).

Unlike imported gold, silver was obtainable more locally. The mines at Melle in western France that provided the silver for a major Carolingian mint are now known to have entered use in the Merovingian period, and there seems to have been another significant source of silver near Poitiers, which became a major mint at this time (Téreygeol 2007; fig. 18). These silver coins, worth a quarter of a base gold tremissis, were better suited for use in the markets of the north, where slaves were an important commodity but quernstones, decorated pottery, finely carved combs, glassware, and many other goods of moderate value were traded (Hill and Cowie 2001).

Provence As Peripheral Region

At the same time, the long-distance trade of Mediterranean France was becoming too minor to be archaeologically visible. The site at Sant Peyre mentioned above is one of the last clear bodies of evidence for such trade for centuries. Around 700 or shortly after, ceramic imports from the eastern and southern parts of the Mediterranean became very infrequent even at Marseille and at other major centers such as Rome (Bien 2007; Saguì et al. 1997). Trade had not entirely ceased in the Mediterranean, but it had become very limited in volume, mostly restricted to high-value, low-volume luxury goods such as spices, silks, and the like. Bulky

commodities such as ceramic vessels and olive oil or fish sauce were no longer worth transporting in enough quantity to show up regularly in the archaeological evidence. Although the papal chancery in Rome still used papyrus into the eleventh century, in France it had almost entirely disappeared, replaced by locally made parchment, by the end of the seventh century. Thus, by the time the confirmation of the Corbie grant was issued in 716, its terms had become almost imaginary (Loseby 2000, 187–189; cf. Pirenne 1937, 147–148).

Provence, like most of the rest of France, changed over to a silver coinage in the late seventh century. This would have isolated it monetarily from the rest of the Mediterranean world, all of which used either a multi-denomination system based on gold and bronze or else debased gold alone, but if trade with the rest of the Mediterranean had virtually disappeared, this would not have been a significant problem. Instead, this decision seems to show that Provence was looking more to the north than to its former connections to the south and east.

The Merovingian deniers of Provence still retain some interesting differences from those of northern France. They are consistently lighter (around 1.1 grams, compared to a standard around 1.3 grams for northern France), which might indicate a relative scarcity of silver in the south. And although they do not name the (increasingly meaningless) kings the way the earlier gold coins did, they continue to represent a public authority. Instead of naming moneyers, as the deniers of northern France did, the deniers of Provence bear monograms that apparently refer to governors of Provence, such as Antenor and Nemfidius (figs. 19–21).

Although the Merovingian deniers of Provence exist in relative abundance, due largely to a single large hoard found near Cimiez around 1850, the prevailing impression that they give is of a region that had lost its previously central role as the point of connection between the Frankish realm and the wider world. Rather than having the most Roman coins of the Frankish world, Provence instead had its least Frankish coins.

Roman culture still survived much more in Provence than elsewhere in France, but without the wider Mediterranean context it was losing its relevance. One of the most informative socio-cultural documents for the late Merovingian period in Provence is the will of a man named Abbo, originally written in 739 but preserved in a later document because he bequeathed his properties to the abbey of Novalesa, which he had founded (Geary 1985). Abbo was certainly the rector of a province and probably the patrician of Provence after 739. He owned many properties in southern Burgundy, the Alps, and

Provence, which are listed in his will, along with comments on how Abbo had acquired them.

This document shows a society in which the forms of late Roman law were still followed in considerable detail, with citations of the *lex Falcidia* and a *lex de libertis* (Geary 1985, 30). Abbo's wealthy kindred included connections to the Frankish aristocracy but also individuals bearing names inherited from the late antique aristocracy of Gaul, such as Siagria, Rustica, Semforianus, Valerianus, and others. This was the culture that produced the most Roman-style coins of Merovingian France, but by the time Abbo died, probably around 750, this culture was rapidly becoming assimilated by that of northern France.

When the Merovingian dynasty was replaced by the Carolingian, the royal court in northern France became far more important and powerful. The country between the Seine and Rhine valleys was the heartland of the Carolingian realm, both politically and economically, and Provence was at best a marginal backwater, of little importance to its rulers. Participation in the royal, later imperial, court and its military and judicial leadership was of far more use to the regional aristocracy of Provence than were the isolated local traditions of Roman derivation. Abbo's world shows us a world that was either about to disappear or already disappearing, after the virtual collapse of long-distance commerce in the Mediterranean brought an end to Provence's role as the richest and most sophisticated part of the Frankish realm; as Pirenne put it, "By the ninth century Provence, once the richest country of Gaul, had become the poorest" (Pirenne 1939, 30). And with this larger change in the cultural and economic distinctiveness of Provence came an end to its monetary distinctiveness in the Frankish realm as well.

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SAINT JOAN OF THE UPPER WEST SIDE: A New York Statue Turns 100

David Hill

On a chilly afternoon, 100 years ago this past December, a crowd gathered on a knoll overlooking the Hudson River on Manhattan's Upper West Side at 93rd Street (fig. 1). The lucky ones sat on chairs that had been placed on a wooden platform constructed for the event, while others stood, wedged into whatever space they could find in the crowd or observing from a distance across Riverside Drive. It wasn't star power that drew them; the biggest name to appear that day was Thomas Edison's wife, Mina. She would have the honor of revealing the object that brought them there. Not that anyone could have missed it, the cloaked form rising from the crowd's center, with only drapery preserving some of the mystery. As artillery guns sounded and the Lafayette Guards struck up France's national anthem, Mrs. Edison pulled the canvas free.¹ The crowd gazed up, seeing for the first time the majestic bronze Joan of Arc, the teenage French warrior depicted in full armor atop her muscular steed, sword held aloft to receive God's blessing (facing page).

Giving the statue its monumental bearing was a magnificent gothic granite base by the architect John Van Pelt. It supplied not only grandeur but symbolic meaning, as it contained many tons of stone excavated near the Rouen dungeon where the young fighter had been imprisoned. The base also was to contain a tangible reminder of the war then gripping Europe—a fragment of a pilaster from the Cathedral of Rheims, shelled by Germans just a few months earlier—but it arrived too late for the ceremony and would instead be placed there the following year. A time capsule was also included, a “hermetically sealed” copper box containing, among other things, American and French coins and medals, letters from President Woodrow Wilson and New York Governor Charles Whitman, and a specimen of

staurolite—“fairy stone”—a naturally occurring crystal shaped like a cross, said to be created by the weeping of fairies after the crucifixion of Jesus.²

The day, commemorated with a medal by Tiffany & Co. (fig. 2), was a triumph, not only for the sculptor, Anna Vaughn Hyatt (figs. 3–4), but also for the organizers. New York's experience in this area had not always been so glorious. In fact, the city's hodgepodge of statuary had by that time become the object of widespread scorn. The parks commissioner, Charles Stover, saw this new addition as an antidote to the numerous “freakish statues” haunting the city, hoping that more like it might proliferate to replace “the monstrosities which now disfigure it.”³ The committee in charge would remain active for years, organizing other events, such as a large Bastille Day celebration in 1918.⁴ Later that same year, the strip of land where the statue sits was officially designated Joan of Arc Park,⁵ an event celebrated in January 1919 and commemorated with two medals, one of which was designed by Hyatt and issued by the ANS (figs. 5–6). There would be numerous ceremonies held in the park in 1919, moments to gather and listen to the New York City police band play, to lay flowers at the monument's base, to observe the release of carrier pigeons, to reflect on the French and American alliance

1. “Joan of Arc Statue Unveiled in Drive,” *New York Times*, December 7, 1915.
2. George Frederick Kunz, “Dedication of the Statue of Joan of Arc in the City of New York on December 6, 1915,” in *Twenty-First Annual Report of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society*, 1916 (Albany: J. B. Lyon, 1916), 501–510, 521.
3. *Joan of Arc Loan Exhibition Catalogue* (New York: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford Company, 1913), 24.
4. Photograph, *New York Times*, July 21, 1918.
5. “Joan of Arc Park Created by Hylan,” *New York Times*, December 15, 1918.



Fig. 1: The unveiling of Anna Vaughn Hyatt's loan of Arc on Manhattan's Upper West Side drew a large crowd, and prominent coverage in the New York Times (December 12, 1915).



Fig. 2: United States. Unveiling of the Joan of Arc Statue. Silver medal by Tiffany & Co., 1915. (1915.241.1, gift of J. Sanford Saltus) 37 x 26 mm. A purple case, containing a set of these medals, was placed into J. Sanford Saltus's tomb in Woodlawn Cemetery in the Bronx (Numismatist, August 1922).



Fig. 3: Hyatt at the unveiling in 1915 (Library of Congress). "It was about the only dedication I ever went to," she remembered 50 years later.

in the recently concluded war, and to hope for continuing peace.⁶

Planning for the statue began in 1909 with the formation of the Joan of Arc Statue Committee, its goal to commemorate the 500th anniversary of her birth.⁷ Its president was the imposing Tiffany executive, gemologist, and active American Numismatic Society member George Frederick Kunz. But the real passion for the project was centered in the shy but eager founder of the committee,⁸ its honorary president, J. Sanford Saltus (figs. 7–8). Saltus, the heir to a steel fortune, had as a young man dabbled in the arts. But as “an amateur painter of uneven talent,” according to his friend Francklyn Paris, he grew frustrated by his inability to express himself artistically. He was also painfully inarticulate generally. So he sought other outlets, finding satisfaction in the various projects and awards he funded at institutions such as the National Academy of Design (1908), the Académie des Beaux-Arts (1910), and the American Numismatic Society (1913). Though bashful and timid, Saltus would come alive when talk turned to topics that set his merry eyes a-twinkle. One was Marie Antoinette’s ill-fated son, the Dauphin of France, who died as a child in captivity.⁹ Another was Joan of Arc, to whom, it was said, he had a devotion that was almost child-like in its purity.¹⁰

Encouraging signs of success came to the committee in early 1913 when a large exhibition of Joan of Arc materials opened at the American Numismatic Society’s building on Audubon Terrace. The committee wanted to stimulate public interest in the project and also hoped to encourage financial backing. It appears the first goal was easier to accomplish, with the *New York Times* reporting on the “throng at opening of exhibition preliminary to raising statue in New York.”¹¹ In the end it was up to Saltus to provide the bulk of the funding out of his own pocket—\$35,000 according to one estimate.¹²

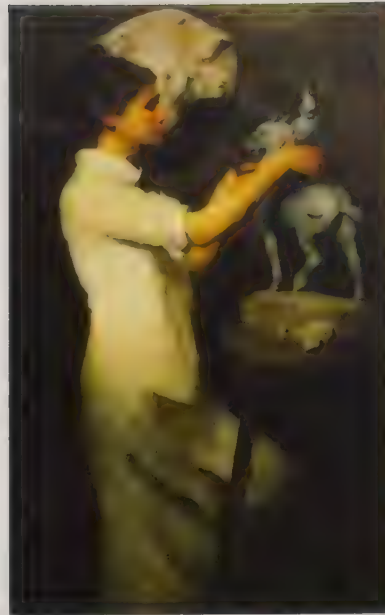


Fig. 4: Portrait of Anna Vaughan Hyatt with the model for her Joan of Arc, by Marion Boyd Allen, 1915.



Fig. 5: United States. Dedication of Joan of Arc Park. Gold medal by Tiffany & Co., 1919. (1919.109.2, gift of J. Sanford Saltus) 75 × 52 mm. Saltus donated three of these medals, in bronze, silver, and gold. It commemorates the designation of the land around the statue as Joan of Arc Park, depicting a 21-gun salute by the United States cruiser Des Moines and the crossed searchlights of the battleships Utah and Pennsylvania.

6. “Joan of Arc Park,” *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society*, 1920 (Albany: J. B. Lyon, 1920), 157–160.

7. Kunz, “Dedication,” 489.

8. Anna Hyatt to George Kunz, November 12, 1915, letter sold by PBA Galleries, www.pbagalleries.com.

9. Francklyn Paris, *J. Sanford Saltus: An Appreciation* (New York: Museum of French Art, French Institute in the United States, 1922).

10. Edward Alexander Parsons, “J. Sanford Saltus, a Remembrance,” *Louisiana Historical Society Quarterly* 5 (Oct. 1922), 495.

11. “Gather at Shrine of Joan of Arc,” *New York Times*, January 7, 1913.

12. Paris, *J. Sanford Saltus*.



Fig 6: United States. *Homage to the Maid of France*. Gold medal by Anna Vaughn Hyatt, 1919. (0000.999.4441, gift of J. Sanford Saltus) 64 mm. Hyatt told the committee she didn't want to merely copy her statue on this medal, struck by the ANS for the dedication of Joan of Arc Park, and produced this design instead.

The committee had scoured the world for materials to exhibit, and on display were statues from notable artists such as Félix Charpentier and Henri Chapu, some paintings, manuscripts from the library of J. Pierpont Morgan, cases of medals (fig. 9), and a few coins. There was, nevertheless, a kind of kitchen-sink aspect overall. There were printed poems, sheet music, books, and postcards. Many of the items were merely photographs: of statues, of Sarah Bernhardt appearing as Joan of Arc, of Joan of Arc's signature. The New York City parks department had sent over some photographs of a lion named Joan of Arc from the Central Park Zoo to be included. Many of the items in the exhibition catalog are listed simply as "engraving from an old book."¹³ Floral arrangements provided relief from these mostly monochromatic displays. Fleurs-de-lis constructed of lilies of the valley flanked the entrance; inside were yellow orchids and scarlet carnations, Easter lilies with yellow and white ribbons, and white lilacs mixed with blue bachelor buttons.¹⁴ There were over 1,000 items put on display, and an exhausted ANS director Bauman Belden worked well into the evenings putting it all together.¹⁵ By 1916, many of the items were still cluttering the basement at the ANS, a situation that had Belden appealing to Kunz in an effort to get it all cleared out.¹⁶

At the time of the exhibit, the organizers reportedly had not yet settled on a sculptor, but Kunz hinted that the selection might be an unorthodox one, which in 1913, especially considering the size of the sculpture, meant it might be a woman. "We do not care who makes it," he said, "a Russian, an Italian, an American, or a Hottentot—a man, woman, or a child."¹⁷ For several years, Saltus had traveled throughout Europe, talking to artists, examining statues, and attending no less than nine Joan of Arc pageants.¹⁸ One day he stopped into the Paris Salon and was struck by the sight of Hyatt's life-sized plaster of Joan of Arc on horseback. Hyatt had been basking in the glow of praise for the work, but few believed that a woman could produce something of that size without considerable help. This was the reason, she would later say, that she received an honorable mention there instead of a "real medal."¹⁹ What struck the New York committee most of all was that the young fighter was presented, not as a simpleton driven by religious hysteria, but as a poised and dignified young woman.²⁰

There was a time when every schoolchild knew the legend of the peasant girl, who, acting on instructions from God, convinced a crown prince to put her at the head of a French army, her subsequent defeat of British and Burgundian forces, the saving of the city of Orleans, her trial for witchcraft (and for her dressing like a man), and her burning at the stake in 1431. The story,

13. *Exhibition Catalogue*.

14. "Gather at Shrine of Joan of Arc," *New York Times*, January 7, 1913.

15. Bauman Belden to George Frederick Kunz, December 28, 1912.

16. Bauman Belden to George Frederick Kunz, March 17, 1916.

17. "Gather at Shrine of Joan of Arc," *New York Times*, January 7, 1913.

18. Grace Humphries, "Anna Vaughn Hyatt's Statue," *International Studio* (December 1915), xlvii-l.

19. Oral history interview with Anna Hyatt-Huntington, circa 1964, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

20. Humphries, xlviii.



Fig. 7: This portrait of J. Sanford Saltus by George M. Reeves (1909) hangs in the library of the Salmagundi Club of New York City. Saltus was an active member of the club. (Courtesy of Salmagundi Club.)



Fig. 8: United States. Saint Joan of Arc Day, J. Sanford Saltus Chevalier, Legion d'Honneur. Bronze medal by the Joan of Arc Statue Committee, 1919. (1919.158.1, gift of the Joan of Arc Statue Committee) 63 mm. The committee had this special medal struck to recognize Saltus's work over the previous decade.



Fig 9: France. Joan of Arc. Silver medal by Félix Rasumny, 1898. (0000.999.71211, gift of J. Sanford Saltus) 25 mm. All but seven of the 228 medals displayed at the Society's exhibition in 1913 had been donated to the ANS by Saltus in 1912 (ANS Proceedings, 1913).

with its built-in drama and ingredients ripe for symbolic interpretation, has been the subject of countless artistic adaptations. Mark Twain's last novel, published in 1896, was a fictionalized account of her life, one that Hyatt cited as influential.²¹ George Bernard Shaw's stage play *Saint Joan* (1924) came soon after her canonization by the Catholic Church in 1920. There have been scores of movies, paintings, medals, and depictions in almost all other conceivable media (fig. 10).²² And there have been countless ceremonies honoring her. Hyatt herself stood in for Joan, attired in rented armor and perched uneasily on horseback, for a procession at the old Madison Square Garden.²³

Everyone involved with New York's *Joan of Arc* statue had opinions about its meaning. Hyatt said that she had in mind the young woman's spiritual intensity, the "religious fervor" that had her "speaking to her saints," giving her the strength to endure the sleepless marches through the cold and rain.²⁴ McDougall Hawkes of the Museum of French Art, downplayed religiosity, suspecting she was driven more by "the growing feeling of modern patriotism."²⁵ Kunz cautioned against too modernist an interpretation. "We are not thinking of anything having to do either with religion or woman suffrage," he said. "She represents, I think, the best type of true womanhood."²⁶ To one speaker at the unveiling, France's ambassador, Jean J. Jusserand, the meaning was unambiguous. Reminding the crowd of the recent bombardment of the Rheims cathedral—"never defaced by sacrilegious hands until the present day"—he harkened back to the saints that had watched over Joan. "The nation has become one in a single purpose," he said. "She can fight, and will win the fight."²⁷

By the time she was selected by the committee, Anna Vaughn Hyatt was already a successful sculptor. Born in Massachusetts in 1876, her father, Alpheus, was a paleontologist and zoologist who taught at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. From the moment of her birth, she was surrounded by the animals that would become a specialty in her work. She described her father as a "poor professor on poor professor pay," but he nevertheless had the means build an art studio in the backyard of their house in the coastal town of Annisquam. Her older sister, Harriet, was supposed to be the sculptor of the family, having studied under Henry Hudson Kitson, a sculptor of American military heroes. Anna was going to be a violinist. But Harriet found that she had no aptitude for sculpting animals, so she turned to Anna, who, she said, had been studying them since she was "knee-high to a grasshopper."²⁸ Anna excelled at the work. She began selling small bronzes through a firm in Boston, finding such success that she was able to move to New York in her early 20s, seeking work there as an *animalier*, a newly emerging specialty in the art world.²⁹ Even within this narrow

21. Oral history.

22. Françoise Meltzer, "Joan of Arc in America," *SubStance* 31, no. 1 (2003), 90–99.

23. Oral history.

24. Humphries, xlviii–l.

25. *Exhibition Catalogue*, 28.

26. "Big Exhibit in Honor of Joan of Arc's Birthday," *New York Times*, January 5, 1913.

27. "Joan of Arc Statue Unveiled in Drive," *New York Times*, December 7, 1915.

28. Oral history.

29. Doris Cook, *Woman Sculptor: Anna Hyatt Huntington (1876–1973)* (Hartford, Conn., 1976), 1–3.

Joan of Arc Saved France



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Fig. 10: Joan of Arc has appeared in countless works and in most media, including World War I posters.



Fig. 11: Picture postcard of the loan of Arc Statue at the Boulevard Saint-Marcel, Paris, 1919. Saltus sent several such postcards, and other notes reporting on his European travels, back to the ANS.

field, she faced stiff competition. Also in New York, for example, was Alexander Phimister Proctor, who sculpted horses for Daniel Chester French's equestrian statues. Anna took up with several young women, artists and musicians, with whom she shared an apartment and studio. There was no time for parties, she later assured an interviewer, just hard work.³⁰ It paid off. A collaboration with one of her roommates, the bronze group *Men and Bull*, won a medal at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904.³¹

Commissions quickly followed, and sales of her small figures—jaguars, bears, bucking broncos, many based on clay sketches made during visits to the Bronx and Brooklyn zoos—was brisk.³² The next step was Paris, where she set herself up in a studio large enough accommodate the draft horses lent by the proprietors of a nearby store, which she studied while composing the monumental plaster exhibited at the Salon. Aware that “every French sculptor has done his Joan of Arc,” she hoped to set hers apart by paying strict attention to authenticity in the armor. She turned to Bashford Dean, curator of armor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for help. He had a young assistant don a set of plain, 15th-century armor and positioned him on a wooden

“horse” constructed from a barrel. Hyatt then took photographs that she could work from later.³³ Details such as the horse's bit didn't escape her attention. She wanted the severity of its grip to emphasize the power of the horse, contrasting it with the “small strength of the girl.” Later, Anna had casts made of the small model for the work, which she sold for \$750 each.³⁴

The unveiling of the New York statue didn't extinguish Saltus's Joan of Arc passions. He continued to travel throughout Europe, mailing back notes and picture postcards of statues of her to his friends and fellow members at the ANS (fig. 11), attending any and all celebrations he could find that honored her, such as one in Orleans following the armistice of 1919.³⁵ A particular thrill came when he was present for her canonization in Rome in 1920 (fig. 12).³⁶ Saltus donated a copy of

30. Oral history.

31. Cook, 2.

32. Ibid.

33. Oral history.

34. Anna Hyatt to George Kunz, November 12, 1915, letter sold by PBA Galleries, www.pbagalleries.com.

35. J. Sanford Saltus to Sydney Noe, January 27–28, 1919.

36. Sydney Noe to J. Sanford Saltus, May 28, 1920.



Fig. 12: France. Canonization of Joan of Arc. Silver plaque, 1920. (1920.142.6, gift of J. Sanford Saltus) 52 × 37 mm. Saltus was particularly thrilled to be present at the canonization of Joan of Arc in Rome, 1920.



Fig. 13: Another statue of Joan of Arc by Hyatt, this one for the still unfinished Cathedral of Saint John the Divine in Manhattan's Morningside Heights, was given by Saltus, who didn't live to see its dedication in 1922.



Fig. 14: United States. J. Sanford Saltus in death. Plaque by Anna Vaughn Hyatt, 1924. (1924.168.1, gift of Archer M. Huntington). Saltus died unexpectedly, and under mysterious circumstances, in 1922.



Fig. 15: United States. Archer M. Huntington and Anna Hyatt Huntington. Bronze medal by C. P. Jennewein, 1973. (1980.183.4, gift of Brookgreen Gardens), 78 mm. Archer and Anna were married in 1923. This medal was the first in a series by Brookgreen Gardens.

Hyatt's statue to the city of Blois, France. (Three other copies were later installed: in Gloucester, Massachusetts, San Francisco, and Québec.)³⁷ Saltus even sponsored a different Joan of Arc statue in New York, again by Hyatt, this one for the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine (fig. 13). He wouldn't live to see that one dedicated. In 1922 Saltus had gone to London for a meeting of the British Numismatic Society and was staying at the Hotel Metropole. His lifeless body was discovered one morning by a maid. Next to his bed was one glass containing potassium cyanide, a poisonous concoction commonly used at the time used to clean coins, and another containing ginger ale. It was officially ruled that he had confused the two: "death by misadventure."³⁸ He was 69 (fig. 14).

At the time of Saltus's death, Anna was in her mid-40s and had already enjoyed many years of professional success. A decade earlier it had been reported that she was just one of 12 women in the United States earning \$50,000 a year.³⁹ In fact, she was already quite well established by the time of the first Wright Brothers flight in 1903. Yet she would live to see men walk on the moon. More than half of her life lay ahead of her in 1922, and changes were on the horizon.

The most immediate was her marriage to the recently divorced railroad and shipping heir Archer Huntington (fig. 15). A student and obsessive collector in the area of geographic and cultural Spain, Huntington had founded the Hispanic Society of America to house the artwork, books, and coins he had been amassing. He also lavished support on its neighbors at Audubon Terrace, the complex he had built on Manhattan's far Upper West Side to house the American Geographical Society, the Museum of the American Indian, the American Numismatic Society, and other cultural institutions. Anna and Archer met in 1921 when he commissioned her to design a medal honoring Argentinian president Bartolomé Mitre Martínez for the Hispanic Society. The two saw much more of each other after he put her in charge of an exhibit by the National Sculpture Society held at Audubon Terrace. In 1923, Archer and Anna gathered with a handful of friends in Anna's studio on 12th Street in Greenwich Village, and the two were married. Anna's next major project was a bronze grouping, at its center

37. Caitlin Beach, "Joan/Jeanne: Multiplying a Monument," *Wallach Art Gallery, Columbia University*, http://annahyatt@huntington.weebly.com/joanjeanne-multiplying-a-monument.html#_ftn138.
Joe Ciccone, "The Peculiar Death of J. Sanford Saltus," *ANS Magazine* 7, no. 1 (Spring 2008).

39. Mary Mitchell and Albert Goodrich, *The Remarkable Huntingtons: Chronicle of a Marriage* (Newtown, Conn.: Budd Drive Press, 2004), 15.

40. *Ibid.*, 15–23.



Fig. 16. Hyatt's El Cid at Audubon Terrace.

an equestrian statue of the 11th-century Spanish hero El Cid, for a courtyard at Audubon Terrace (fig. 16). Anna joined the ANS in 1919.⁴⁰

Those who knew Anna in the years that followed could be forgiven for not thinking her a likely candidate for longevity. By 1927, severe and persistent health problems—fevers, coughing up blood, exhaustion—prevented her from working. It was tuberculosis and it would plague her for a decade. The Huntingtons sought relief in different climates, mixing trips to Switzerland and Arizona in with their other travels.⁴¹ They both felt they needed to get out of the city, and it wasn't just for Anna's health. Though Archer was, to the rest of the world, a large and imposing bear of a man, of whom it was said a museum would rise everywhere he put down his foot, to Anna, and, it seems, to himself, he was primarily a poet.⁴² In 1897 he had published a translation of an epic poem about El Cid from Castilian into English, a project that took 10 years to complete.⁴³ He would ultimately publish 24 books of poetry, all but three privately printed.⁴⁴ According to Anna, "he wanted very much to devote himself to his poetry," and felt he needed to escape the city to do so.⁴⁵ That, combined with the Anna's health, is what finally drove them to the country, first to Haverstraw, New York, where they kept a menagerie—monkeys,⁴⁶ bears, wolves, and wild boars⁴⁷—and later to a farm in Connecticut.⁴⁸ They did, however, retain their Fifth Avenue mansion until 1939, at which time they donated it to the National Academy of Design, still headquartered there, though this year it was announced that the building would soon be offered for sale.⁴⁹

Around 1929, the Huntingtons purchased four derelict plantations, collectively known as Brookgreen, in coastal South Carolina on the Waccamaw River. Descendants of the slaves that had worked the indigo and rice crops were still living in ramshackle accommodations on the properties and would serve as a ready source of labor for the couple's plans, which included the construction of a new home, to be christened *Atalaya*.⁵⁰ The two would escape from the colder months up north in a trailer constructed from the hollowed out shell of a Greyhound bus.⁵¹ Their lasting legacy was a sculpture garden they designed together, Anna sketching out rough concepts and Archer drawing up the concrete plans (fig. 17). Originally conceived to show off Anna and her sister Harriet's works, other artists were later included. The couple almost immediately opened it to the public.

During those early years at Brookgreen, Anna's health problems persisted. She wrote notes to herself, ideas for statues to decorate the estate—"stallion; 3 colts play-

ing, nicking and biting each other; coiled snake for a doorstep; seal scratching head with flipper"—but even minor efforts at work on a small sculpture of a turtle left her unable to go on. She was so ill at one point that she couldn't travel from New York City to Syracuse University to receive an honorary degree, so a rare exception was granted in her case, and five representatives made the trip to New York to bestow it instead.⁵²

Her health would gradually improve, however, as Archer's deteriorated. He became increasingly reclusive during the war years, arthritis in his hips and legs greatly restricting his movement. He still sometimes traveled by train from Connecticut to New York to visit the Hispanic Society or conduct other business, but the pilgrimages to Brookgreen became harder and harder until, finally, he was unable to make them at all. By the mid-1950s he knew he didn't have long to live and began to donate land and other holdings. He gave some property in the Adirondacks to Syracuse University and donated Brookgreen Gardens to the State of South Carolina. He died in his sleep at his Connecticut home, *Stanerigg*, in 1955. Though he and Anna were childless, they had often been surrounded by family there—the children and grandchildren of Anna's sister, Harriet.⁵³

After Archer died, Harriet moved into *Stanerigg* with Anna, staying there until her death in 1960. Meanwhile, Anna continued to work (fig. 18). When she was 80 years old, she finished an equestrian sculpture of Cuban poet and freedom fighter José Martí (1853–1895), depicting him as he was cut down by Spanish bullets during Cuba's fight for independence. It sits at the south end of New York's Central Park at the northern terminus of Sixth Avenue, which had been rechristened "Avenue of the Americas" in 1945, part of a greater plan to recognize pan-American achievements and ideals.

In her later years, Anna had a continuing interest in politics, something she and Archer had dabbled in decades earlier, particularly in areas where it intersected with the art world. "I'm a great conservative in politics," she told an interviewer around 1964, declaring herself an early supporter of Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater, the era's standard bearer for resurgent American conservatism. She and Archer had always been strict traditionalists when it came to the arts, and great foes of modernism. In the late 1930s, Archer became increasingly alarmed at the election of modern writers like Carl Sandburg, Sinclair Lewis, Ezra Pound, and John Steinbeck to the National Institute of Arts and Letters, which, along with its sister organization at Audubon Terrace, the American Academy of Arts and Letters, had benefitted greatly from his (and his mother's) largess. Failing to stem the incursions of

the modernists, he withdrew his support.⁵⁴ In the 1950s, Anna sat on the board of an advisory committee for the American Artists Professional League, one of whose founders was fellow sculptor and traditionalist Wheeler Williams, an outspoken foe of Marxism in the arts.⁵⁵ During this period, Anna and Archer would receive lists of artists suspected of communist leanings—"very deep pinks"—along with solicitations for support. Contributions from the two would often be forthcoming. Archer opened his wallet for George Dondero, for example, a United States congressman running a McCarthyite reelection campaign, targeting the twin threats of Marxism and modernism in the arts. Archer was also a great admirer of the general-turned-caudillo Francisco Franco of Spain, exchanging friendly letters with the man whose seizure of power had motivated many in the international political left, most famously Eric Arthur Blair (George Orwell), to take up arms during the Spanish Civil War.⁵⁶

Anna's final work was, unsurprisingly, a traditional, patriotic, and heroic one. It is *General Israel Putnam*, which sits at the entrance to the Putnam Memorial State Park, just a couple of miles from *Stanerigg*. It depicts the general, fist raised in defiance, coaxing his horse down a narrow set of stairs in a daring escape from the British at Greenwich, Connecticut, in 1778. It was completed in 1969 when the artist was 93 years old. She died four years later, on October 4, 1973.⁵⁷

41. Oral history.

42. *Ibid.*, 50.

43. Shelley Bennett, *The Art of Wealth: The Huntingtons in the Gilded Age* (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2013), 257.

44. Alan Filreis, *Counter-revolution of the Word: The Conservative Attack on Modern Poetry, 1945–1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 170.

45. Oral history.

46. Mitchell and Goodrich, 66.

47. Oral history.

48. Mitchell and Goodrich, 65, 81.

49. Randy Kennedy, "National Academy Plans to Sell Two Fifth Avenue Buildings," *New York Times*, March 17, 2016.

50. Mitchell and Goodrich, 49–58.

51. Oral history.

52. Mitchell and Goodrich, 55–57.

53. *Ibid.*, 106–107, 137–140.

54. *Ibid.*, 84–87.

55. For more on Wheeler Williams see David Hill and Elena Stolyarik, "New Archives Accessions," *ANS Magazine* no. 2 (2013), 48–53.

56. Filreis, 170–171; 217–222.

57. Mitchell and Goodrich, 144–145.



Fig. 17: Hyatt's sculpture *The Visionaries* depicts Anna and Archer planning Brookgreen Gardens. It was placed there in 1955, the year Archer died.



Fig. 18: Anna Hyatt Huntington, 1965. She told an interviewer around this time that she had always sketched her compositions in clay: "I never did any drawing." (Photo by Herman Hiller; Library of Congress.)

SUBVERTING CURRENCY: Money, Art, and Message

Andrew Reinhard

A Note to Di For

Banksy is a wanted man. Internationally known for his satirical and subversive street art, he created a large quantity of the Princess Diana notes in August 2004, a roll of which was reportedly thrown into the crowd at the Notting Hill Carnival and at the Reading Festival that year. Some of these bills were used by festival-goers as actual currency, prompting Banksy to cease distribution. He re-used the note's image later in a lithograph commemorating Princess Diana's death, and also in 2009's "Million-Pound Briefcase". Uncut sheets of these notes have fetched as much as £16,000 and £24,000 at auction.

The ANS recently acquired a £10 "Di-faced" banknote (fig. 1) created by the street artist Banksy (active 1992–). The note was purchased at the 2016 New York International Numismatic Convention (NYINC) from Joseph Linzalone of Wolfshead Gallery, who, along with James Hallgate (a Banksy dealer) of Lucius Books, had jointly obtained eight of these specimens directly from Banksy's manager in 2014.

The ANS's Banksy note (fig. 1) is the first specimen of fine-art paper currency at the Society, joining several examples of defaced/modified coins in the cabinet. It parodies British £10 notes from the mid-2000s (fig. 2), replacing the face of Queen Elizabeth II with that of Diana, Princess of Wales. The elaborate script at the top of the note's obverse reads, "Banksy of England", replacing "Bank of England." The reverse of the note remains largely unchanged except for the all-caps legend "trust no one" in the lower-right corner. Weighing ca. 1.32 g, the note is printed with inks on paper nearly identical to that used on official, UK-issued currency.

The creation of these banknotes went relatively unre-

ported from 2004 until 2007 at the 10-year anniversary of Princess Diana's death; Banksy was not sought for any counterfeiting charges, unlike American currency artist J. S. G. Boggs (fig. 3), who was arrested in London in 1986 for being in possession of and importing counterfeit bills, but was later acquitted, the English government confiscating his stock of hand-drawn currency. In Banksy's film *Exit Through the Gift Shop*, Banksy speaks to the fact that after the incidents at the festivals, he realized he had forged around £100,000,000, nearly all of which remain in his possession.

Subverting Money

For Banksy and for dozens of other artists worldwide, art is money, and money, art. A few, such as Boggs, walk a fine, legal line. As a direct result of the Boggs case, the UK government began producing banknotes that include a copyright notice. In the US, the law continues to be updated in an effort to stop counterfeiting, forgery, and, at times, art. But the law is somewhat forgiving, knowing that some artists will use currency as media, and some publications will want to reproduce images of currency in color. The 2011 US Code of Federal Regulations, concerning the reproduction of US currency states:

- The illustration [of banknotes] be of a size less than three-fourths or more than one and one-half, in linear dimension, of each part of any matter so illustrated;
- The illustration be one-sided; and
- All negatives, plates, positives, digitized storage media, graphic files, magnetic medium, optical storage devices, and any other thing used in the making of the illustration that contain an image of the illustration or any part thereof shall be destroyed and/or deleted or erased after their final use in accordance with this section.



Fig. 1: "Di-Faced Note" by Banksy. (ANS 2016.9.1) 142 x 75 mm.

Wayne Homren, numismatist and editor of *E-Sylum*, recounted his experience of transacting for a "Boggs Bill" in 1993. Nearly 10 years into his career as a currency artist, Boggs actually took out a table at the Pennsylvania Association of Numismatics (PAN) convention in Pittsburgh. Homren learned that the artist's modus operandi was not to sell his art for money, but instead focused on the transaction, a kind of barter. To Boggs, the art is in the transaction, as the "buyer" must consider what money actually is, and assign a value to the artist's time and materials. In the PAN exchange, Homren traded books for the bill. Later, Homren transacted for a personalized \$5 fantasy note with added serial number (fig. 4).

Two years earlier, a Secret Service raid took over 500 items from Boggs' Pittsburgh home. He was planning "Project Pittsburgh" to spend \$1M Boggs Bills. These bills were marked "Save the Brewhouse" and had a denomination of "0", merging a modified image of a \$10 Federal Reserve note with an artistic variation of the 1886 \$5 silver certificate. The Secret Service took no chances, and seized his work. In 1993, a US District Court ruled against Boggs that the Secret Service and prosecutors in Pittsburgh could press charges without violating his constitutional rights, but to date Boggs has yet to be arrested for counterfeiting. He continues to conduct his transactions for real goods and services, occasionally



Fig. 2: United Kingdom ten pound note featuring Queen Elizabeth II, 142 x 75 mm.



Fig. 3: Currency artist J. S. G. Boggs pictured with a novelty one dollar bill. Photo: Discovery Channel, *Secret Life of Money* (2013).



Fig. 4: Original Boggs "novelty fiver" drawn for Wayne Homren (image courtesy Wayne Homren).

asking for change in real money (<http://on.aol.com/video/secret-life-of-money--boggs--bills--money-as-art-517709632>). Boggs Bills can fetch upwards of \$15,000 at auction, so recipients who elect to accept his art as payment can potentially come out ahead. Most recently Numismatic Auctions sold lot 624P "October Rent", a "Boggs transaction assemblage" on November 30, 2015. Many recipients of Boggs' work, such as Homren, elect to keep the bills as a memento of the personal meeting with this subversive artist.

Other contemporary artists use actual currency in their art, from elaborate collages made from new, sliced \$1 bills (Mark Wagner) (fig. 5), to Rodrigo

Torres who travels, collecting world currency to create "Currency Collages" (fig. 6), composite notes and artworks assembled from pieces of other international notes. Argentine artist Maximo Gonzalez cuts up uncirculated Argentine banknotes for pieces with politically charged themes. Artists such as David Greg Harth, Peggy Diggs, and Jim Costanzo rubber-stamp circulating American currency with provocative slogans.

Harth began stamping bills with "I Am America" in 1998, and followed with other messages: "I Am Not Terrorized", "I Am State", "I Am Not Church", "I Am HIV+", "I Am HIV-". For Harth and others,



Fig. 5: Untitled collage by artist Mark Wagner. Video still from Mark Wagner – *Money is Material* (*The Avant/Garde Diaries*, 2014), CC-BY.

paper currency is a viral media with which to promote ideas. Currency circulates, and each time a bill changes hands, the owner of the bill has the potential to read and interpret the message.

Diggs uses rubber-stamped bills with social questions, which she developed with her work with impoverished citizens of Greensboro, NC. The questions that are stamped on the bills are aimed at the wealthy: “In what ways has money hurt you?”, “What do you think is gained in poverty and lost through wealth?”, “Do you feel the need to be paid for everything you do?” She stamped these questions onto the notes in her possession, and then spent them, introducing them into the economy (fig. 7).

American artist Jim Costanzo, began circulating 100 \$1 bills stamped “Free Money” and “Slave of Wall Street” in 2009 (fig. 8) as part of the Occupy Wall Street movement. According to Costanzo who runs the Aaron Burr Society, “free money is not only a reference to the bailouts but the entire Free Market system that depends on your tax dollars in order for Corporations to make a profit.”

Other artists who play with the controversial message of money include Justine Smith whose sculptures include a hand grenade plastered with a \$5 bill (fig. 9) and street artist Blu and his giant wall mural, “Money

Shark” composed of the images of hundreds of notes. Performance artist Cesare Pietrouisti gained infamy by staging public “eating money auctions” where the winning bidder would give the artist a banknote to ingest, pass through his system, wash, and then return as a framed artwork. All artists equate the message of money with social issues. Money is a social medium.

The political messages on the charged medium (pun intended) of currency straddles the line between fine and folk art. Plenty of museums and galleries have made a point of exhibiting money-as-art. Philadelphia artist Emily Erb exhibited her giant, silk flags of controversial American currency (fig. 10) at the Delaware Center for the Contemporary Arts in 2014 in a one-woman show, “Legal Tender”, which focused on the messages of slavery, feminism, and disenfranchisement in the United States. Tallahassee’s Mary Brogan Museum (now shuttered), curated the exhibition “Currency: Money is Art, Art is Money”, which featured the work of Boggs and six other artists. Galleri Specta in Copenhagen hosted “Money Makes the World Go Round” in 2015 with four artists who work in currency: Andreas Schulenberg, Carlos Aires, Lars Arrhenius, Frances Goodman. Argentine artist Rirkrit Tiravanija has found a home in New York’s Museum of Modern Art’s permanent collection with his rubber-stamped bills bearing slogans such as “fear eats the soul” and “less oil more courage”.

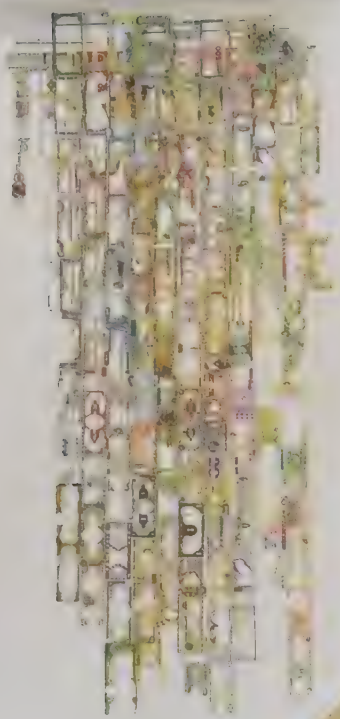


Fig. 6: "Renda" by Rodrigo Torres (2012).



Fig. 7: Stamped bills by Peggy Diggs.
Photo from *Keep the Change*, Harley Spiller
(Princeton Architectural Press, 2015).

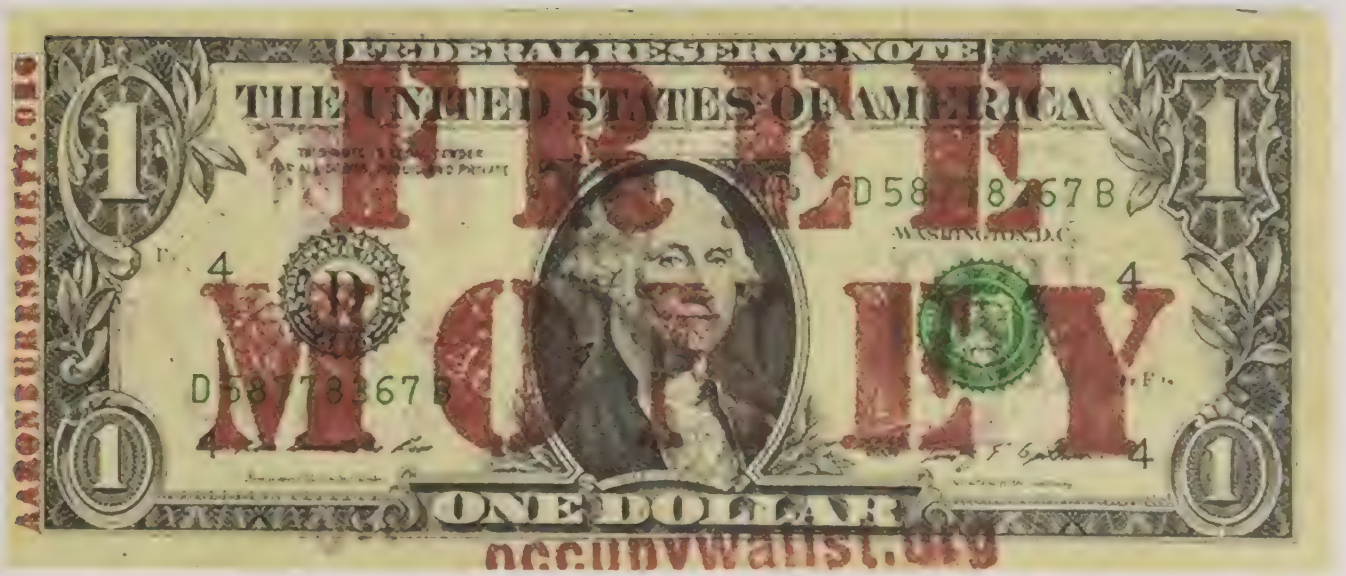


Fig. 8: "Free Money" marked bill by Jim Costanzo. Photo: Aaron Burr Society.



Fig. 9: "Money Grenade" by Justine Smith.



Fig. 10: "Legal Tender" (2013) installation by Emily Erb. Photo: Delaware Center for the Contemporary Arts.



Fig. 11: "Twenty Dollar Bill" (1890) by John Haberle. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, MA. Wikimedia Commons.



Fig. 12: Artist Beriah Wall. Photo: Librado Romero for The New York Times (2010).

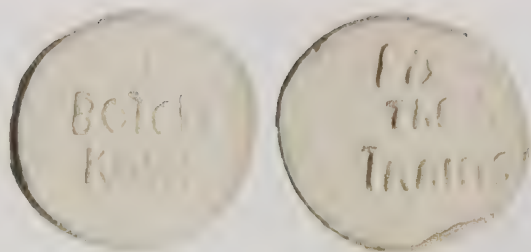


Fig. 13: "Fix the Trains" clay "coin" by Beriah Wall. (ANS 2006.29.7, gift of Dolores Scott). 35 mm.



Fig. 14: Hobo nickel made from a 1913 zinc 5 cent piece, Philadelphia. (ANS 1918.108.1, gift of Mrs. G.F. Corbett). 21 mm.



Fig. 15: Hobo nickel made from a 1913 zinc 5 cent piece, Philadelphia. (ANS 1922.999.41). 21 mm.



Fig. 16: "Winged Phallus" worked zinc cent (1858), Philadelphia. (ANS 0000.999.52769). 19 mm.

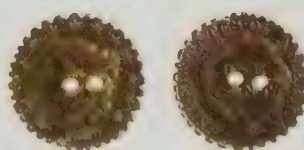


Fig. 17: "Bull Roarer" punched bronze cent (1826), Philadelphia. (ANS 0000.999.53864). 19 mm.

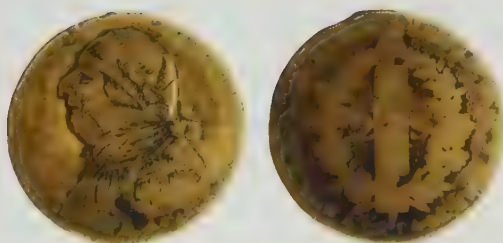


Fig. 18: Worked bronze 2 sols (1792), Paris, with caricature head of a Jacobin (ANS 1962.57.169, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Maxime Hermanos). 33 mm.

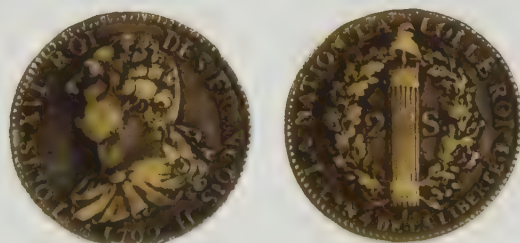


Fig. 19: Bronze 2 sols (1792), Paris, with bust of King Louis XVI (ANS 0000.999.36673). 33 mm.



Fig. 20: German silver "box" thaler (1627) with painted portraits of man and woman (ANS 1958.191.3).

Strange Currency

The depiction of currency in art and currency-as-art is not a recent phenomenon, and 19th-century painters were as apt to be chastised and arrested for their work as their contemporary counterparts. In 1897, Victor Dubreuil's trompe l'oeil painting, "Barrels of Money", was destroyed by the US Treasury for its realistic depiction of paper money. Twenty years earlier, John Haberkle's "A Bad Counterfeit" featured a crumpled (then flattened) \$10 bill that was so realistic, the judges at an art expo nearly disqualified him for pasting a banknote to his canvas. This and other paintings featuring lifelike currency became his calling card (fig. 11). Otis Kay and Nicolas Alden Brooks were two other 19th-century artists famous for their trompe l'oeil paintings of money, presented as feats of skill, but without an overt political message, which would come later, beginning with the pop art of Warhol, Marisol, and Rauschenberg, playing with the concept of money and what it means.

To this point, money-art is serious business, and the activity of play in a work's creation is overshadowed by an often darker meaning. Within the ANS's collection, there are examples of more lighthearted forms of currency, either purpose-made or modified from existing coinage.

For nearly 40 years Brooklyn-based artist Beriah Wall (fig. 12) has been creating thousands of what he calls "coins", handmade, fired clay tokens, to leave around New York City. A few times a year, Wall creates new issues by stamping each clay disk (about the size of a poker chip) with a die he makes himself, the obverse and reverse containing messages or symbols that go together, along with his initials and the year of manufacture. After three days of drying, he fires the tokens, and then carries a pocketful of them wherever he goes in the city either to give away or to hide in plain sight.





Fig. 22: German silver "box" thaler (1642) with painted mica inserts (ANS 1920.177.8 gift of W. R. Powell) 41 mm.

Eight of the thousands of "coins" Wall distributed around New York City between 1978 and 1987 are in the ANS's collection. Of these, only two are glazed (those bearing "A+"), the rest remaining white with the following messages: "God is a bowl, and you know why", "TV Guide", "I'd like to be like my dad", "Fix the trains / botch Koch", and "Self help." The ANS's tokens are also marked with dates of production and symbols such as the fleur de lis (fig. 13). While appearing to be more like tokens or fired clay medals, Wall himself calls his creations "coins" with messages of "positive subversion", their commerce perhaps being that of buying smiles, wonder, and curiosity. Although Wall mainly leaves the disks in inconspicuous places, he also enjoys handing them out to strangers, enjoying their reactions. His gifts almost always "elicit a smile", as reported by David Gonzalez for the *New York Times* in 2010.

Hobo Nickels and Other Modified Coins at the ANS

The line between fine and folk art is often blurred,

and that holds true even for currency used as artistic media and canvas. With the appearance of the first "Indian head" nickels in 1913, made of 75% copper and 25% nickel, were easily worked. Tradition holds that hobos (defined by Romines as "generally artistic, very versatile and energetic individuals . . . willing to work for meals and his keep") began carving/working the coins to sell or trade for money, food, or lodging, to pass the time, and later to record portraits. In the book *Hobo Nickels*, Delma Romines notes that thousands of hands created hobo nickels, yet less than 20 could be considered masters of the art that would eventually die out during the 1940s, although the undisputed master of the form, "Bo", remained active until 1980.

The ANS holds two hobo nickel specimens, both by unknown artists. The earliest, minted in Philadelphia in 1913 (fig. 14) is worked on both sides, unusual in and of itself. Upon closer scrutiny, the nickel is actually comprised of two thinned-down coins joined



Fig. 23: German silver "bow" thaler (1642) showing obverse and reverse, plus interior with the subject "dressed"
 (ANS 1920.177.8, gift of W. R. Powell) 41 mm.

together. The obverse shows a bearded man wearing a derby hat with ribboned band. The bison on the reverse has been worked into a bearded man in a cap and overcoat, boots, and walking stick. The ANS's second hobo nickel (fig. 15) is also from 1913, minted in Philadelphia, with the head of the obverse etched to become the head of a man with a tight, curly beard in high relief, capped with a shallow derby hat and thin band. The reverse is untouched.

The American tradition of modifying coins is long, strong, and sometimes funny. Fifty-five years earlier, easily worked zinc “flying eagle” cents became the objects of vandals’ attention. The left-flying eagle could be reworked into a flying phallus. All of the ANS’s five specimens date to either 1857 or 1858, minted in Philadelphia (fig. 16). It is likely that these coins belonged to Civil War soldiers, the 1858 cent being widely used. It is not difficult to imagine bored privates spending time polishing pennies for much needed amusement.

Continuing with the theme of amusement, the ANS also has evidence of a coin turned into a child’s toy. Two holes punched in an 1826 bronze cent from Philadelphia (fig. 17) yields the possibility of a “bull-roarer” attached to a string that when whirled overhead produces noise.

The folk art of hand-modifying coinage appears to be universal and not restricted to nineteenth- and twentieth-century America, and comes with a political message not unlike those seen earlier in this article. The ANS has a bronze 2 sols coin from Paris, 1792–95 (fig. 18) where the obverse—normally the bust of King Louis XVI (fig. 19)—has been worked into the likeness of a Jacobin, a member of the most radical democratic club that under Robespierre began the Reign of Terror (1793–94) during the French Revolution (1789–1799). The artistic detail of the Revolutionaire lends itself to the fine art caricatures featured in French political cartoons of the time. It is unclear if the portrait is to be seen as humorous or as serious. It is likely that the coin is symbolic with the everyman face of the new French democracy replacing that of the king, the Jacobin’s expression smug.

Box Thalers

The currency of most nations constitutes art in one’s pocket, but on occasion the art of the die is supplemented with something else. Beginning in the late 1500s and continuing into the present in Germany and Austria, some mints began to produce *Schraubtalers*, known to English-speakers as box thalers. As the name implies, these silver thalers

were hollow on the inside in order to carry one or more small images, keepsakes, or inscriptions. Two halves of a silver thaler were stamped with obverse and reverse dies, the same ones used to mint thalers to be circulated. These were then machined (with a foot-operated lathe) to introduce a fine thread on the inside of the edge, which enabled the halves to be screwed together.

The art held within these coin-boxes falls into four main categories: engraving/inscriptions, painted portraits, “comics”, and “dress-up.” The engravings were often of poems or prayers. Those containing portraits often had painted disks glued inside, many of which have been lost over the past 500 years as the adhesive lost its tack. The ANS is fortunate to have in its collection a spectacular pair of miniature portraits done in oil in a thaler from the 1600s (fig. 20). The exact date and name of the artist remain unknown, but the mastery of the medium is undeniable.

More unusual (and likely more expensive) box thalers included either “comics” or disks made out of mica (also known as muscovite or isinglass). The comics often included figured scenes annotated with German text. In the ANS’s specimen (fig. 21), ribbon connects painted paper disks containing regional flowers on one side and images of moments in the life of a woman on the other.

The ANS has two examples of the “dress-up” variety of box thalers, one containing nine disks, and the other containing seven. The latter (fig. 22) was made in 1642 in Augsburg and contains the head-and-shoulders painted portrait of a gentleman. Each disk is also painted, but with different hats, clothing, and facial hair, leaving the center clear. When one places a disk over the portrait, one is effectively giving him a change of clothes and appearance, whether for fun, or as a guide to fashion.

The skill in which these examples were created firmly places them into the category of fine (albeit miniature) art, although dealing with either folk or personal themes.

Conclusions

The intersection of currency and art runs from the whimsical to the political, with currency as either canvas or medium (or both) not unique to any one place or time. The art can trend towards the provocative, exploring and exploiting the very nature of legal tender as a vehicle for transactional commerce, imbuing it with additional meaning via modification or nontraditional use. Even when the art is more decorative or personal, it prompts a dialogue not only

between those who view the work, but also between the observer and the observed. Who carved this coin and when and why? How did it get here to me at this time? What prompted the creation of a rubber-stamped bill, and who else has seen the message? How did they respond, and how will I?

With the advent of virtual currency, and the continuation of the invisible currency that is credit, one wonders how artists will approach these as media upon which to compose, manipulating the ethereal, hidden message into something personal, political, and possibly beautiful. As the ANS expands its holdings of currency art and altered coinage, it will continue to address these bigger questions asked by non-numismatists, but answerable through the study of the collection.

COLLECTIONS

New Acquisitions

Elena Stolyarik

In 2015 Abraham and Marian Sofaer continued their generous ongoing donation of their collection of the Jewish coins of the Holy Land. This year the Sofaers donated 274 coins including Persian period Yehud coins; coins of Herod I (37 BCE–4 CE), his sons Herod Archelaus (4 BCE–6 CE) and Herod Philip (4 BCE–34 CE), and his grandson Agrippa I (37–44 CE); coins of the prefects and procurators of Judaea under Rome (6–66 CE); coins of Domitian struck at Caesarea Maritima reflecting the Judaea Capta motifs; and a group of coins with local countermarks.

One of the highlights from these groups is a remarkable silver hemidrachm struck under the Ptolemies (ca. 302–ca. 246 BCE) showing the head of Ptolemy I on the obverse and an eagle standing left on the reverse. Instead of a standard Ptolemaic legend, however, this coin is inscribed YHDH in paleo-Hebrew script (fig. 1).

An unusually well-preserved example of Herod I's half-prutah depicting an eagle is the first Jewish coin struck in ancient times with any sort of "graven image." The eagle may have simply been a design motif copying previous Greek coins with eagles. On the other hand, it has also been suggested that this design could reference the eagle that Herod I, earlier in his reign, had erected over the entrance to the Jerusalem Temple to honor his Roman allies. The reverse of this coin shows a cornucopia with "of King Herod" in Greek (fig. 2).

Among the coins of Herod I's son Archelaus is an especially well-preserved prutah depicting on one side an anchor with long arms inscribed "of Herod" and on the other side his title "ethnarch" in Greek within a wreath (fig. 3).

The first coin ever struck by a Jewish king with his own portrait (together with the portrait of the emperor) is represented in the Sofaer gift to the ANS by one of the best-preserved examples. This bronze coin depicts on the obverse a portrait of Augustus and on the reverse a portrait of Herod Philip with his name "of Philip, Tetrarch," and the date (either "year 3" or "year 5") in Greek, corresponding to either 2/1 BCE or 1/2 CE (fig. 4).

The Sofaer donation also included one of the rarest

coins of Herod's grandson Agrippa I. This 9.41 g bronze coin shows a portrait of Agrippa I on its obverse with "of King Agrippa" and on the reverse we see young Agrippa II riding on horseback with "Agrippa, son of the king" inscribed in Greek (fig. 5).

Among the Sofaers' beautifully preserved set of coins of the prefects and procurators of Judaea is a lovely bronze prutah dated to the 17th year of the reign of Tiberius, or 30/31 CE, which is generally attributed to the governing period of Pontius Pilate. The date is shown on the obverse, within a wreath, and on the reverse a Greek legend "of Tiberius Caesar" surrounds a lituus or shepherd's crook. The lituus was an object famously used by fortune tellers and soothsayers whose magical arts, it is said, were favored by Tiberius (fig. 6).

Among the small group of local countermarks of Judaea is the famous countermark of the X Fretensis Legion, the central Roman force during the Jewish War, which was garrisoned in the land for a number of years after the war to maintain peace and quiet. This countermark, on the reverse of a coin of Nero struck in Caesarea Maritima, depicts a boar with a dolphin beneath it and the Latin letters LXF (for Legio X Fretensis); a second countermark on the reverse depicts a galley. On the obverse there is yet another countermark LXF. Thus on this coin we have two countermarks of the X Fretensis as well as three of the legion's principal symbols—boar, dolphin, and galley (fig. 7).

A remarkable donation came to the Greek department from ANS fellow Jonathan Kagan (fig. 8). It is a unique silver tetradrachm of the Sicilian mint of Camarina, dated ca. 414–405 BCE, depicting a quadriga left driven by Athena wearing a chiton and crested helmet, with Nike above flying right to crown her. The reverse of this coin is an artistic innovation in Camarina's coinage. It bears an image of Heracles' bearded head wearing a lion skin facing left but turning slightly to front. His right eyelash and right brow are just visible above his nose; the right eye of the lion skin is also visible. Images of this coin were first published by Ulla Westermark in her article "A New Tetradrachm of Kamarina," in the book *Studies in Greek Numismatics in Memory of Martin Jessop Price* (1998, pl. 78, 1a-1). She characterized this new reverse representation as an experiment in the



Fig. 1: Judea. Under the Ptolemies (ca. 302– ca. 246 BCE). AR hemidrachm. CHL 241, 27. (ANS 2015.46.27, gift of Abraham D. & Marian Scheuer Sofaer) 13.4 mm.



Fig. 2: Judea. Herod I (40–4 BCE). Mint of Jerusalem. AE (half?) prutah. CHL 259, 56. (ANS 2015.46.88, gift of Abraham D. & Marian Scheuer Sofaer) 13.4 mm.

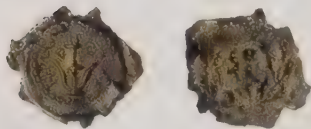


Fig. 3: Judea. Herod Archelaus (4 BCE–6 CE). Mint of Jerusalem. AE prutah. CHL 259, 66. (ANS 2015.46.98, gift of Abraham D. & Marian Scheuer Sofaer) 15.6 mm.

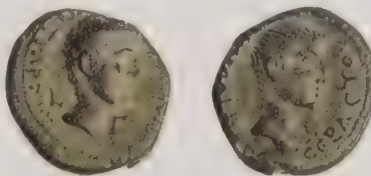


Fig. 4: Judea. Herod Philip (4 BCE–34 CE). Under Augustus. Mint of Caesarea Philippi (Paneas). AE coin. CHL 261, 117. (ANS 2015.46.118, gift of Abraham D. & Marian Scheuer Sofaer) 23 mm.



Fig. 5: Judea. Agrippa I (37–44 CE). Mint of Caesarea Panias. Year 2. AE coin. CHL 263, 147. (ANS 2015.46.148, gift of Abraham D. & Marian Scheuer Sofaer) 22 mm.



Fig. 6: Judea. AE prutatah of the Roman procurator Pontius Pilatus (26–36 CE). Year 17 (30/31 CE). CHL 270, 38. (ANS 2015.46.210, gift of Abraham D. & Marian Scheuer Sofaer) 19 mm.

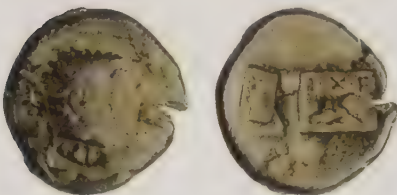


Fig. 7: Judea. Countermarks of the X Fretensis Legion on an AE coin of Nero, minted in Caesarea Maritima. 68 CE. AE coin. CHL 284, 1. (ANS 2015.46.251, gift of Abraham D. & Marian Scheuer Sofaer) 26 mm.



Fig. 8: Sicily. Camarina. 414–405 BCE. AR tetradrachm. (ANS 2016.1.1, gift of Jonathan H. Kagan) 26 mm.



Fig. 9: Eastern Europe. Geto-Dacian imitation of Poroschia type. AR serrate denarius. Type of L. Procilius, cf. Crawford 379/2. After 80 BCE. (ANS 2015.47.1, purchase) 18 mm.



Fig. 10: Eastern Europe. Geto-Dacian imitation of Poroschia type. AR denarius. Anonymous type, cf. Crawford 287/1. After 115 BCE. (ANS 2015.47.2, purchase) 18 mm.

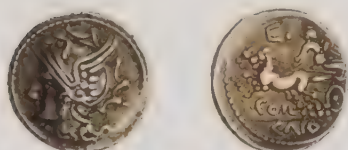


Fig. 11: Eastern Europe. Geto-Dacian imitation of Poroschia type. AR denarius. Type of C. Coelius Calvus, cf. Crawford 318/1A. After 104 BCE. (ANS 2015.47.3, purchase) 18 mm.



Fig. 12: Eastern Europe. Geto-Dacian imitation of Poroschia type. AR serrate denarius. Type of Q. Antonius Balbus, cf. Crawford 364/1C. After 83 BCE. (ANS 2015.47.5, purchase) 18 mm.

direction of a three-quarter view and noted that the foreshortening was skillful and the effect pleasing, but the three-quarter view was not fully attained (p. 374).

Through Classical Numismatic Group our Roman department acquired a group of Dacian imitations of Roman Republican denarii from the RBW estate (ex Phillip Davis collection). Among them is an interesting imitative silver serrate denarius of the L. Proculus type (Crawford 379/2) (fig. 9) dated after 80 BCE, with images of Juno Sospita right wearing a goat-skin headdress on the obverse and Juno Sospita, holding spear and shield, driving biga right on the reverse. This excellent issue is die-linked to the important Poroschia hoard. Alongside this coin the ANS also obtained 13 other "Poroschia-type" Dacian imitations. This group includes a silver denarius of anonymous type, bearing a head of Roma on the obverse and an reverse with Roma seated on a pile of shields holding a spear and the she-wolf with twins, a type struck after 115 BCE (cf. Crawford 287/1) (fig. 10); two denarii imitating issues of the moneyer C. Coelius Caldus, dated after 104 BCE (cf. Crawford 318/1a) (fig. 11); and four serrate denarii imitating issues of Q. Antonius Balbus (cf. Crawford 364/11c.) with beautiful images of a laureate head of Jupiter and Victory in quadriga (fig. 12), issued after 83 BCE. We also added to our collection through this purchase four serrate silver Dacian imitations of the issues of C. Naevius Balbus (cf. Crawford 382/1b), struck after 79 BCE, with a head of Venus wearing a diadem (fig. 13), and two other "Poroschia-type" imitative denarii of Ti. Claudius Nero type (cf. Crawford 383/1) with a head of Diana on the obverse, with bow and quiver over her shoulder, and a traditional image of Victory with a palm branch on the reverse, issued after 70 BCE (fig. 14). These "Poroschia-type" coins are very important for an understanding of the Dacian imitative coinage and this purchase filled important gaps in the ANS collection of coins from beyond the borders of the Roman Republic.

Another important acquisition is a small group of Byzantine bronze coins, purchased through Warren Esty from the collection of Rev. C. Daniel Clark, a long-time collector of late Roman and Byzantine coins. This collection was assembled over a period of 50 years. Clark was born in 1926 and served in the Navy immediately following high school, from 1944 to 1946. In 1954 he completed his Master of Divinity degree and served as a Methodist minister in Michigan, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana before retiring to southern California. He has had a lifelong interest in early Christianity, which led him to collect ancient coins with Christian symbolism, especially early Byzantine coins.

Among the coins is a half follis of Anastasius, struck

in Constantinople; it corresponds to Dumbarton Oaks type 21 except for the presence of a tiny cross above the emperor's head (fig. 15). From the Antioch mint we acquired a pentanummium of Anastasius with the officina letter B between the letters A and N of the mintmark (fig. 16). Two curious half folles of Anastasius also bear Antioch mintmarks. One of them has the denomination mark backwards relative to the rest of the reverse (fig. 17), and the other has retrograde-reading mint letters around the cross and may be an ancient imitation (fig. 18). An extremely interesting follis of Justin I from the mint of Nicomedia shows the hand of God holding a diadem above the emperor's head (fig. 19). This rare type was not previously represented in our collection, nor is it listed in the Dumbarton Oaks catalogue. This new group of coins adds significantly to the less-common varieties among our early Byzantine bronze coins.

Our collection of the medals issued by the ANS has been improved by a gift from our long-time member and fellow Scott H. Miller. His latest gift is a pair of uniface bronze casts of the original design submitted by Marcel Jovine for the ANS 125th Anniversary medal. The obverse bears a nude medalist working a coining press; the reverse shows an artist's hand working on the ANS logo of oak leaves (fig. 20). This design was initially selected by the Anniversary Medal Selection Committee, but later replaced by Council with an alternate proposal by Marcel Jovine, a rectangular medal, with an image of a minter striking a coin on an anvil with hammer, with depictions behind him of a selection of important pieces in the ANS collection. However, some members of the Anniversary Medal Committee who had chosen the original design commissioned 12 sets of uniface bronze casts from Marcel Jovine. We are glad that one of these sets has now been added by Mr. Miller to our collection, to accompany the clay models that Jovine had submitted to the design competition (fig. 21) and which have remained at the Society.

From the Puerto Rico Numismatic Society our Medals department received several commemorative bronze medals devoted to the rich history of this tropical Caribbean island. Among this group are a medal issued for the 500th anniversary of the Christianization of the local population (1512–2012) and a medal dedicated to the bicentennial anniversary (1813–2013) of the appointment of Alejandro Ramírez (1777–1821) as Intendant (chief fiscal officer) in Puerto Rico. This distinguished economist provided major economic reforms, which helped to promote agricultural development and improved government control of the islands finances (fig. 22).

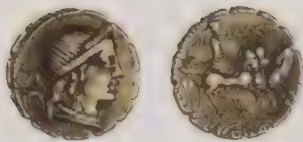


Fig. 13: Eastern Europe. Geto-Dacian imitation of Poroschia type. AR serrate denarius. Type of C. Naevius Balbus, cf. Crawford 382/1B. After 79 BCE. (ANS 2015.47.10, purchase) 18 mm.

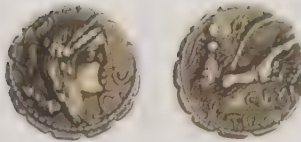


Fig. 14: Eastern Europe. Geto-Dacian imitation of Poroschia type. AR serrate denarius. Type of Ti. Claudius Nero, cf. Crawford 383/1. After 70 BCE. (ANS 2015.47.13, purchase) 18 mm.

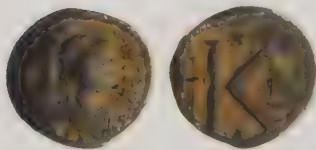


Fig. 15: Byzantine Empire. Anastasius I (491–518). Constantinople. AE half follis. DOC 21 var.; Hahn 32 var. (ANS 2016.3.3, purchase) 19 mm.



Fig. 16: Byzantine Empire. Anastasius I (491–518). Antioch. AE pentanummium. DOC 49; Hahn 61–63. (ANS 2016.3.8, purchase) 13 mm.

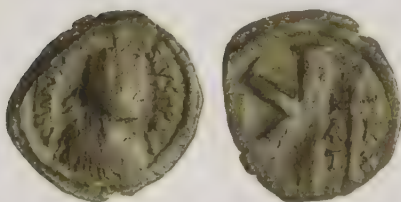


Fig. 17: Byzantine Empire. Anastasius I (491–518). Antioch. AE half follis. DOC 47a; Hahn 58. (ANS 2016.3.6, purchase) 26 mm.



Fig. 18: Byzantine Empire. Anastasius I (491–518). Antioch. AE half follis. DOC 47b; Hahn 58 var. (ANS 2016.3.7, purchase) 15 mm.

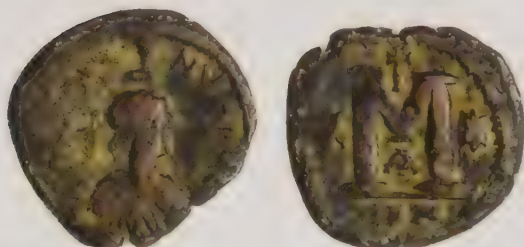


Fig. 19: Byzantine Empire. Justin I (518–527). Nicomedia. AE follis. Hahn 35C. (ANS 2016.3.11, purchase) 33 mm.



Fig. 20: United States. Pair of uniface AE casts of the original Marcel Jovine design for the ANS 125th Anniversary medal. (ANS 2016.4.1–2, gift of Scott H. Miller) 73 mm.



Fig. 21: United States. Clay models of the original Jovine design for the ANS 125th Anniversary medal. (ANS 0000.999.20960, 0000.999.20956) 75 mm.



Fig. 22: Puerto Rico Numismatic Society. AE commemorative medal of Alejandro Ramírez (1777–1821). (ANS 2016.6.2, gift of the Puerto Rico Numismatic Society) 50 mm.



Fig. 23: Uruguay. Medal overstruck on Paraguayan 2 centavos coin of 1870, memorializing the "Martyrs of Quinteros", members of the Colorado political faction, killed by the ruling "Blancos" of Uruguay in 1858. (ANS 2016.7.1, gift of Howard Walter Herz) 50 mm.



Fig. 24: United States. National bank note, 5 dollars, 1902. The Anglo and London Paris National Bank of San Francisco (charter 9174). (ANS 2015.49.4, gift of Barbara N. Fudge in memory of her mother, Betty Marie Ward) 192 × 81 mm (images reduced).

From ANS life member Howard Herz our Medals department received an interesting Uruguayan medal overstruck on a Paraguayan 2 centavos coin of 1870, memorializing the “Martyrs of Quinteros”, members of the Colorado political faction, supported by Argentina, murdered by the ruling “Blancos” in 1858 (fig. 23). Our Latin American department received from Mr. Herz a miniature piece based on the 300 guaraníes coin issued in Paraguay under the rule of General Alfredo Stroessner in 1968. Another gift to the Latin American department came from long-time ANS member Leonard Mazzone, who donated two Guatemalan 5 centavos, dated 1943 and 1945. This small denomination was minted in 72% silver until 1965.

We are grateful to receive for our US paper money collection a fine group of banknotes from Barbara N. Fudge, donated in memory of her mother Betty Marie Ward. The gift consists of a 1902 national bank note of 5 dollars from the Anglo and London Paris National Bank of San Francisco (9174), with a portrait of Benjamin Harrison on one side and a scene of the Pilgrims landing at Plymouth on the other. Despite saying series of 1902, these notes were actually printed in March 1909 (fig. 24). Another group of this donation includes a 1 dollar silver certificate of 1923, signed by Treasurer of the United States Frank White and Register of the Treasury W. O. Woods. We also received two examples of US legal tender notes, a 2 dollar series 1928D, signed



Fig. 25: United Kingdom. Satirical imitation of 10 pound banknote, by Banksy, 2004. (ANS 2016.9.1, purchase) 143 × 76 mm.



Fig. 26: *The American Numismatic Society Trustees' Award Medal*, by João Duarte, 2015. (ANS 2016.10.1, purchase) 89.6 mm.

by Henry Morgenthau Jr. and W. A. Julian, and the same denomination of series 1953A, signed by Robert B. Anderson and Ivy Baker Priest.

By purchase from the Wolfshead Gallery (Ridgewood, New Jersey) we acquired a famous satirical imitation of a Bank of England 10 pound banknote. This artwork bears a portrait of Princess Diana on the front and the motto "I promise to pay the bearer on demand the ultimate price." On the reverse it has the image of Charles Darwin and the statement "Trust No One" (fig. 25). This satirical note is the work of the world-famous contemporary British artist Banksy. He is best known for his street art, which has appeared on the walls and buildings of London and other cities. He is popular for darkly humorous political and social works with anti-establishment themes. Banksy performs his art anonymously. There are various speculations about his real identity, including a hypothesis that Banksy is actually a collective of artists rather than one individual.

We are glad to introduce to our members a new medal issued by the ANS, which was designed and produced by João Duarte, the distinguished Portuguese artist who was the 2011 recipient of our J. Sanford Saltus Award for Signal Achievement in the Art of the Medal. Duarte's new work is our Award of the Trustees of the

American Numismatic Society, given for distinguished service to the Society. The design of this special medal reflects the artist's concept of the ANS mission. Coins and medals are represented on the medal in symbolic form by stainless steel circles and semi-circles, including one with the ANS emblem. The open space in the center of the medal symbolizes the artist's vision of the Society's future, which is open to the limitless possibilities of future generations (fig. 26). The first recipients of our new Trustees' Award Medal were Regina and John W. Adams during the ANS Gala Dinner on January 7, 2016, held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

Current Exhibitions

In early April, four bronze coins from the American Numismatic Society as well as a book from the rare book collection of the Society's library were put on exhibit at the Art Institute of Chicago (figs. 27–28). The exhibit, entitled *A Portrait of Antinous, in Two Parts*, presents the results of years of international collaboration and research to determine whether or not the Art Institute of Chicago's fragmentary portrait of Antinous was the original face of the bust of Antinous that belongs to the Palazzo Altemps museum in Rome. Modern 3D printing technology was used to create a mold from which a plaster replica was made in order for the team to effectively demonstrate that the two parts



Fig. 27: The exhibition hall featuring *A Portrait of , in Two Parts*, at the Art Institute of Chicago.

were in fact originally part of one ancient bust. The show is centered around these two parts: the fragment from the Art Institute and the bust from the Palazzo Altemps, which are displayed together along with the full-scale plaster cast reconstruction that gives the impression of its original appearance in antiquity (fig. 29). The exhibition further tells how the fragment ended up in Chicago, far away from its original location. A video documenting the research and creation of the plaster cast accompanies the show, while a timeline of events spans nearly 40 feet of wall in the gallery.

The ANS coins on display introduce visitors to additional images of Antinous, an exceptionally beautiful Greek youth who was a favorite of the Roman emperor Hadrian and who drowned in the Nile River in AD 130. After this loss, Hadrian proclaimed Antinous a god, and portraits of him appeared across the Roman Empire. Our coins demonstrate iconographic features that were likely inspired by sculptures of Antinous like

that of the broken portrait (figs. 30–31). Elizabeth Hahn Benge, former ANS librarian and now Collection and Exhibition Manager at the Art Institute of Chicago, has expressed her excitement and enthusiasm about this project in our blog, *Pocket Change*. Visitors to the Art Institute of Chicago will be able to enjoy this marvelous exhibit through August 28, 2016.

On April 11, 2016, the Metropolitan Museum of Art unveiled a spectacular new exhibit entitled *Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World*. This exhibit is dedicated to the art of the Hellenistic kingdoms that were formed from the conquests of Alexander the Great, with an emphasis on Pergamon, the capital city of the Attalid dynasty that ruled much of Asia Minor. Trade and cultural exchanges flourished, and the Hellenistic kings amassed phenomenal wealth, sponsoring outstanding artistry and technical achievements with their artistic patronage. This exhibition brings together some 264 artworks from



Fig. 28: The exhibition hall featuring A Portrait of Antinous, in Two Parts, at the Art Institute of Chicago.



Fig. 29: Fragment of a portrait head of Antinous, mid-2nd century A.D. Roman (the Art Institute of Chicago) and the bust of Antinous, mid-2nd century A.D. Roman, with 18th-century restorations (Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, Rome).



Fig. 30: Roman Provincial. Egypt. Alexandria. AD 134–135. Bronze drachm. (ANS 1944.100.58531 bequest of Edward T. Newell) 35 mm.



Fig. 31: Roman Provincial. Galatia. Ancyra. AD 138–161. Bronze coin (ANS 1944.100.62226 bequest of Edward T. Newell) 32 mm.



Fig. 32: Fragmentary colossal head of a youth. 2nd century BC. Marble. (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) 58 cm. From the exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

the Hellenistic period—the three centuries from Alexander’s death in 323 BC to the establishment of the Roman Empire in the first century BC. This exhibition is a collaboration between the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the distinguished Pergamon Museum in Berlin, which contributed about a third of the works on view (figs. 32–34). The exhibit also includes works from many other prominent museums in Europe and North Africa, including a group of Hellenistic coins from the Numismatic Museum of Athens. The ANS Greek Department has also lent a number of coins to the exhibition, including a remarkable silver decadrachm of Poros (fig. 35) and two silver tetradrachms struck in Babylon, shortly after Alexander the Great’s Indian campaign (figs. 36–37). The ANS coins are exhibited in the first gallery, in a case with other small objects from the Louvre and the Harvard University Museum that speak to Alexander the Great’s prominence as a military leader and royal patron of the arts.

On May 4–5, 2016, in conjunction with exhibit, the Met hosted a two-day symposium on the significance of Hellenistic art. Among the numerous presentations was one by the ANS Executive Director, Dr. Ute Wartenberg Kagan, who presented a paper entitled “Early Portraits of Alexander the Great: The Numismatic Evidence”.

Another exhibit, entitled *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs*, opened at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on April 27, 2016. This is the first major exhibition to present the art of the Seljuqs, a Turkic dynasty of Central Asian nomadic origin that in a short time conquered a vast territory stretching across present-day Turkmenistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey (fig. 38). The lands controlled by the Seljuqs were not a unified empire but controlled by various branches of the Seljuqs and their successor dynasties. The exhibit focuses on the productive period in the history of Iranian and Anatolian art corresponding to the rule of the Seljuqs from 1038 to 1307. Growing prosperity of the middle classes in Iran led to an expansion in the patronage of luxury goods and the arts. Following the Mongol conquest of Iran in 1220, the Seljuqs continued to rule central Anatolia and northern Iraq and Syria where the art primarily reflected royal support and, in Anatolia, the impact of Islamic iconography on a region that was still predominately Christian (fig. 39).

The exhibit brings together approximately 270 objects from public and private collections in North America, Europe, and the Middle East and Central Asia, many of which have never lent objects to international exhibitions before.



Fig. 33: Roman copy of the Athena Parthenos by Pheidias. 1st quarter of the 2nd century BC. Marble. Found in Pergamon. (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin) Width: 118.5 cm (base), depth 69 cm (base), height of base 40.5 cm, height of 310.5 cm (without base). From the exhibit Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

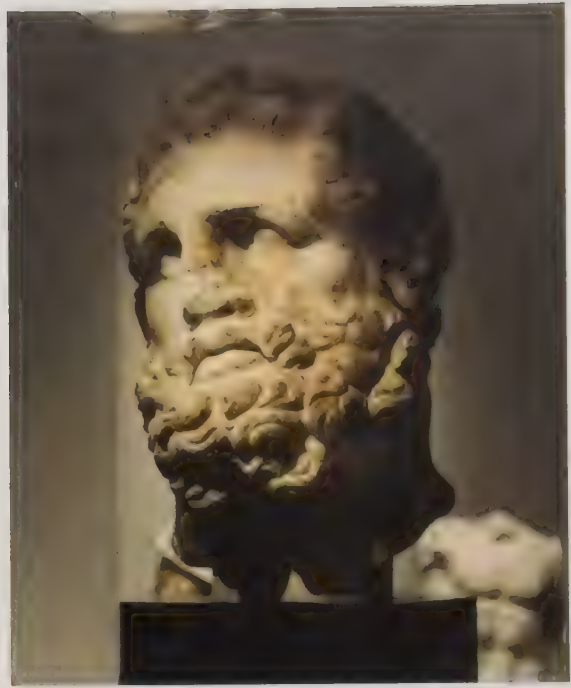


Fig. 34: Head of Herakles. First half of the 2nd century BC. Marble. Found in Pergamon. (Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin). From the exhibit Pergamon and the Hellenistic Kingdoms of the Ancient World at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 35: Babylonia. Alexander III. 323–322 BC. AR Decadrachm. Babylon. (ANS 1959.254.86, gift of Burton Y. Berry) 30.6 mm.



Fig. 36: Babylonia. Alexander III. 323–321 BC. AR Tetradrachm. Babylon. (ANS 1990.1.1, purchase) 26.6 mm.



Fig. 37: Babylonia. Alexander III. 323–321 BC. AR Tetradrachm. Babylon (ANS 1995.51.68, gift of Harry W. Fowler) 26.2 mm.



Fig. 38: Standing figures of guards with jeweled headdress. Iran. 12th-early 13th century. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 143.5 × 51.5 cm. 119.4 × 52.1 cm. From the exhibit *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs*, World at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 39: Panel with enthroned ruler and courtiers, second half of the 12th century. Iran, possibly from the vicinity of Rayy. Philadelphia Museum of Art From the exhibit *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs*, World at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 40: A bracelet with granulation. Second half of the 11th century. Modern Turkmenistan, Meruchak (Merve-Rud) Gold sheet, twisted wire. The State Museum of the State Cultural Center of Turkmenistan, Ashgabat. From the exhibit *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs*, World at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

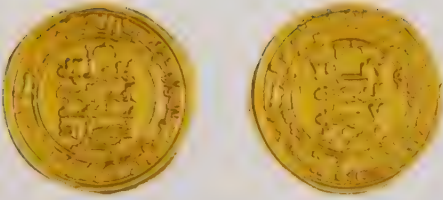


Fig. 41: Gold dinar of Tughril Beg (1040–63). AH 440/AD 1048–49. Minted at Rayy (ANS 1922.211.126, purchase. Ex Starosselsky collection) 26 mm.

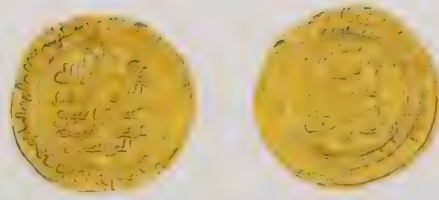


Fig. 42: Gold Dinar of Alp Arslan (1063–1073). AH 457/AD 1064–65. Minted at Rayy. (ANS 1922.211.131, purchase. Ex Starosselsky collection) 25 mm.

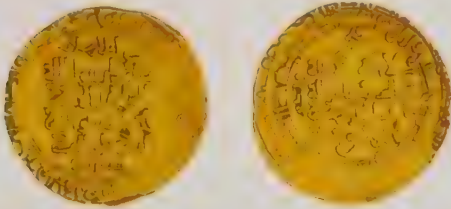


Fig. 43: Gold dinar of Mahmud ibn Malik Shah (1092–1094). AH 486/AD 1093–94. Minted at Isfahan. (ANS 1922.211.126, purchase. Ex Starosselsky collection) 27 mm.



Fig. 44: Gold dinar of Barkiyaruq ibn Malik Shah (1094–1105). AH488/AD 1095–96. Minted at Isfahan. (ANS 1924.999.44) 25 mm.

This exhibit marks the first time since Turkmenistan became independent of the Soviet Union that it has lent a group of objects to a museum in the United States (fig. 40)

One important part of the exhibit is a group of coins from the ANS Islamic Department. Among these are gold dinars of Tughril Beg (AD 1040–1063) and Alp Arslan (1063–1073), both minted at Rayy in Iran (figs. 41–42), and dinars of Mahmud ibn Malik Shah (1092–1094) and Barkiyaruq ibn Malik Shah (1094–1105) (figs. 43–44) struck in Isfahan. An interesting coin of Sanjar (1118–1157), produced from pale gold at Balkh, Afghanistan, features an unusual honeycomb pattern on its reverse (fig. 45). Eastern Seljuq mints issued dinars in a debased composition with low gold content heavily alloyed with silver. The circular legends of the Seljuq coins usually name both the 'Abbasid caliph and the Great Seljuq sultan.

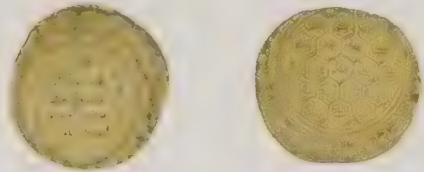


Fig. 45: Pale gold dinar of Sanjar (1118–1157 with honeycomb pattern. AH 5[12–29]/AD 11[18–35]. Minted at Balkh. (ANS 1979.213.1, purchase) 22 mm.

The ANS coins in the exhibit also include copper coins that are artistically related to earlier Greek, Roman, and Byzantine coins. Among these peculiar examples are a dirham of Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan (1148–1174) with an image of Victory modeled after a gold coin of Constantine I (307–334), issued probably in Hisn Kayfa (Hasankeyf) (fig. 46), and a dirham of Najm al-Din al-Alpi (1152–1176), probably minted at Mardin, modeled partly after a Byzantine coin of Romanos III (1028–1034) with an image of the Virgin Mary crowning the emperor and partly after a silver Greek silver coin with a facing portrait of the Seleucid emperor Antiochus VII (138–129 BC) (fig. 47).



Fig. 46: Bronze dirham of Fakhr al-Din Qara Arslan (1148–1174) with the image of Victoria, after a gold coin of Constantine the Great (307–337) issued at Siscia, Pannonia, Croatia. Probably minted at Hish Kayfa., no year. (ANS 1917.216.891, gift of Edward T. Newell) 30 mm.



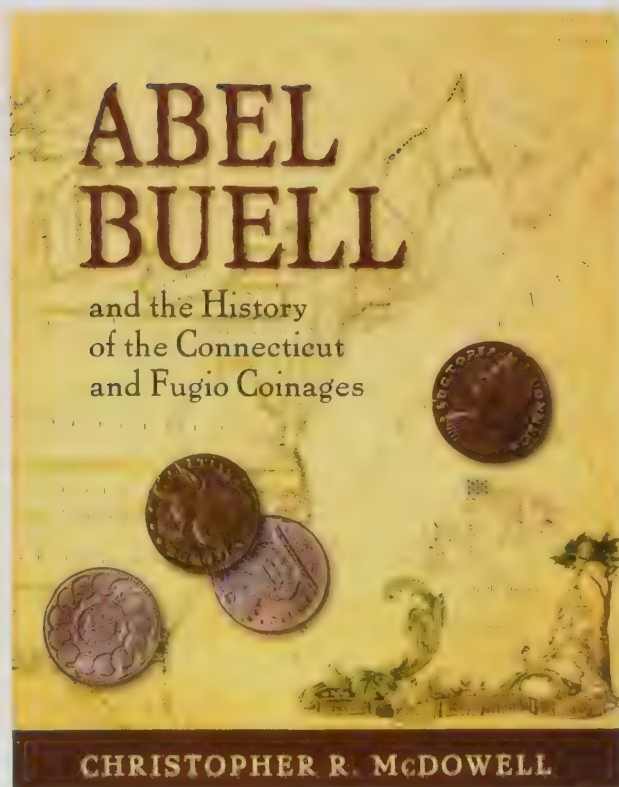
Fig. 47: Bronze dirham of Najm al-Din Alpi (1152–11720). Obv.: Virgin Mary crowning the Byzantine Emperor Romanus III (1028–1034, after a gold coin); Rev.: Facing portraits of the Seleucid Emperor Antiochus VII (138–129 BC, after a silver coin). (ANS 1917.215,1072, gift of Edward T. Newell) 32 mm.

Book Review

Christopher R. McDowell. *Abel Buell and the History of the Connecticut and Fugio Coinages*. No City: C-4 Publications. 2015. 231 pp. color illus. throughout. ISBN 978-1-4951-5086-9. US \$85.00.

In his new book, *Abel Buell and the History of the Connecticut and Fugio Coinages*, Christopher McDowell tells the spellbinding story of a remarkable man who managed to live out the early American dream against all expectations. Condemned for counterfeiting as a young man, Abel Buell (1742–1822) suffered incarceration, branding on his forehead, and the cropping of his ears so that he would forever be recognized as a felon. However, despite these handicaps (which one might have expected to be insurmountable), he went on to operate the state mint for Connecticut and then struck the first federal coinage under contract to the United States government, while producing his own movable type for printing, engraving the first map of the United States, founding the American cotton industry, and inventing an onion-planting machine along the way. It is a quintessential tale of early American ingenuity—sometimes put to nefarious use—and the author tells it masterfully.

McDowell's biography of Abel Buell is actually a collection of many smaller biographies tied to the main thread of Buell's exceptional life as silversmith, engraver, and inventor. As such, the author clearly illustrates the important role of family and other interconnected interpersonal relationships in the advancement of Buell's career. This is made especially clear in relation to his assumption of duties at the Connecticut state mint. Relationships between the original petitioners for the mint (some of whom were also appointed inspectors on behalf of the state!) and Buell are carefully reconstructed based on surviving documentary evidence, giving the strong impression that the mint resulted from a well-orchestrated neighborhood plot. Indeed, it was so well thought out that the petitioners, who could have had only Buell in mind as mintmaster conveniently omitted the name of the counterfeiter from their petition. In modern Western society, which is often fragmented by the use of personal technology that creates islands out of many men (and women), it is easy to forget how crucially important kith and kin relationships were



for advancement—and often mere survival—in late eighteenth-century America. The theme of relationships recurs repeatedly throughout McDowell's retelling of Abel Buell's life and is a welcome reminder that it really is the people and their interactions that make the coins come alive.

The discussion of the die engraving and iconography of Connecticut coppers is especially interesting, not least for the suggestion that Buell developed the left-facing “draped bust” as an attempt to depict George Washington in the guise of an American Cincinnatus. However, the argument that the left-facing “mailed bust” type that followed the right-facing “mailed bust” (based on the coin portrait of the hated King George III) was not intended to mimic the portrait of George II is unconvincing. The physiognomy of the face of the left-facing “mailed bust” (fig. 1) as well as the hairstyle are in fact very close to those of George II (fig. 2). We suspect that the move from a George III-inspired bust type to one of George II was caused more by practical than political concerns. With a bust type similar to that of George III, the early Connecticut coppers risked being swept up with the host of counterfeit George III halfpence that plagued the young United States on the eve of Confederation. A likeness similar to that of George II, however, may have been intended to give an impression of somewhat greater legitimacy, although the halfpence of George II were also sub-



Fig. 1: Pre-Federal America. Connecticut, Company for Coining Coppers. AE copper, 1786. "Mailed bust left" variety. New Haven mint. Miller 5.5-M. (ANS 1931.58.451, gift of the New Jersey Historical Society) 29 mm.



Fig. 2: Great Britain, George II (1727-1760). AE halfpenny. Tower mint, 1749. Peck 879 (ANS 1920.20.2, gift of J. Robinson) 28 mm.



Fig. 3: Pre-Federal America. Connecticut, Company for Coining Coppers. AE copper, 1787. "Draped bust" variety. New Haven mint. Miller 30-hh.1. (ANS 1931.58.592, gift of the New Jersey Historical Society) 29 mm.



Fig. 4: Spanish colonial Mexico, Carlos III (1759-1788). AR 8 reales, 1772-FM. Mexico City mint. Daniel Frank Sedwick, Treasure Auction 19, 18 May 2016, lot 1485.

ject to much counterfeiting.¹ The "draped bust" (fig. 3) which McDowell interprets as a symbolic depiction of Washington, shares the same physiognomy as the George II-inspired left facing "mailed bust," but the distinctive rear view of the bust and its drapery seems to be taken from portraits of Carlos III of Spain (1759–1788) on Spanish-American 8-*reales* (fig. 4) that were the backbone of silver coinage in the early United States. All of this, taken together with the extremely close relationship of the figure on the Connecticut copper reverse to the Britannia of British regal halfpence (which the author notes), seems to imply that Connecticut was trying to have its cake and eat it too. Buell and the Company for Coining Coppers were producing a coinage specifically for Connecticut, but which had the general appearance of a (counterfeit) regal copper and therefore had some ability to be passed and circulate—like counterfeit regal halfpence—far beyond the jurisdiction of the Connecticut legislators who made them lawful money. In short, we would argue that the Connecticut coppers were intended to serve simultaneously as an official state coinage and as an evasive series mimicking, but not actually counterfeiting, British types.² It is perhaps this dual nature that made similar coinages tempting prospects in Vermont (where Buell was also involved in coining) and New York (the NOVA EBORAC coppers) in 1786–1787.

In the treatment of the Fugio copper episode, which actually focuses far more on the machinations of James Jarvis and Samuel Broome than on Buell, McDowell closely scrutinizes—and discards—the many assumptions and claims that have grown up about the Fugios. For instance, he argues that the "meridian sun" specified for and executed by Buell for the Fugio obverse cannot have been modeled on the rising or setting sun (Benjamin Franklin could not decide which) on a famous chair that Washington sat on during the first Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. The author also expresses strong and well-founded doubts about the story given to the state inquest into the Connecticut mint that planchets were produced at the Connecticut mint for Major Eli Leavenworth in 1788. If this report to the inquest is false then the many speculative attempts to associate various New York patterns and "muttonhead" variety Connecticut coppers must also fail.

The author tends to see Broome as the real money and brains behind the scheme to use the Fugio copper con-

1. An oft-cited New York legislative report of March 5, 1787 contrasts circulating George II halfpence (all explicitly described as genuine) with the large pool of counterfeit George III "Birmingham coppers." See P. Mossman, *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation* (New York, 1993), p. 222. For the counterfeiting of George II halfpence, see P. Mossman, *From Crime to Punishment* (New York, 2013), pp. 116–127.

tract to defraud the US government by using federal consignments of copper to produce many underweight and far more profitable Connecticut coppers instead of the required Fugios. McDowell understands Jarvis as more of a front man (he is often cast as the primary rogue in the Fugio affair), but shows that Buell too must have been a knowing party to the plan. Particularly damning evidence that Buell could not have been an innocent dupe is offered in the form of a re-engraved Connecticut die on which the first two letters of the reverse legend INDE ET LIB were corrected from FU. In this case, Buell seems to have begun to punch the letters for a Fugio legend before he realized that he was actually engraving a Connecticut die.

In most numismatic works, the story of Abel Buell ends with his trip to England in 1788 and the assumption that he chose this particular time to travel abroad out of concern that the United States and/or Connecticut authorities were poised to prosecute him for the irregularities and fraud at the mint under Jarvis and Broome. McDowell, however, convincingly shows that Buell probably had little reason to fear the authorities and that his primary reason for going to England was to seek opportunities in the cotton industry. After all, federal legislation guaranteed that his minting job would end regardless of any potential crimes committed and as McDowell points out, Buell was not a man to hold onto business ventures after they ceased to be profitable. Thanks to his English sojourn, he learned industrial secrets and brought them back to the United States where he became the founder of the American cotton industry and was instrumental in the general adoption of Eli Whitney's cotton gin. Unfortunately, despite his critical role in these developments (McDowell emphasizes that Buell was usually the indispensable figure in the various schemes that he participated in over the course of his career), Buell was a little ahead of his time and industrial cotton production would not really catch on in the American northeast for another two decades. After returning to his metalworking roots, Buell found some brief success with a new federal contract to supply sabers to the army on the eve of the United States' Quasi-War with Revolutionary France (1798–1800)—which he and his partner, David Greenleaf, Jr., fulfilled to the letter—but he ultimately fell on undescribed hard times and ended his days in an almshouse.

In addition to the quality of McDowell's text, it should

be pointed out that the production values of the book are equally high, with many full color illustrations throughout. The Colonial Coin Collector's Club (C-4) has been publishing books on various subjects in pre-Federal American numismatics since 1993, but *Abel Buell and the History of the Connecticut and Fugio Coppers* represents a real coming of age for C-4 publications. It will surely be required reading for anyone interested in these coinages and the larger than life character(s) behind them.

—Oliver D. Hoover

2. For discussion of the purposeful ambiguity of the Connecticut types, apparently unknown to the author, see O. Hoover, "A Note on the Liberty Reverse Type of the Connecticut Coppers (1785-1788)," *AJN* 19 (2007), pp. 169-182.



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C.G.

NEWS

New Editor for the Colonial Newsletter

After serving as editor of the Colonial Newsletter for the last five years, Oliver Hoover recently stepped down. Christopher McDowell has now taken the reins of this ANS periodical and has this to say to the membership.

It is my honor to accept the post of editor of the *Colonial Newsletter* ("CNL"). I am grateful to the American Numismatic Society for entrusting the care of this outstanding publication to me, and I would like to thank Ute Wartenberg Kagan, the officers of ANS, and the subscribers for this wonderful opportunity. Since 1960, CNL has been the leading research journal dedicated to the study of early American numismatics. Many of the breakthroughs in our understanding of colonial coinage were first published in CNL, and there is no doubt that the hobby would not be what it is today without the contributions of CNL's authors and editors. In conducting research for my book, *Abel Buell and the History of the Connecticut and Fugio Coinages*, I relied heavily on research published in CNL.

Oliver Hoover has done an excellent job as editor, and I thank him for his help and guidance during this transition. I have reached out to a number of subscribers for ideas to improve the publication and have listened to their comments. In response, some old features will be brought back and some new features will be added. At its inception, CNL was intended to be a collaborative effort among the subscribers wherein everyone was expected to contribute towards the goal of a greater understanding of colonial coinage. Some of today's subscribers, however, feel distant from the publication and are uncertain about contributing material because of CNL's high academic standards. As a result, fewer subscribers are sharing their knowledge. This is a shame because CNL's subscribers are the most knowledgeable colonial numismatists in the world and every subscriber should feel empowered to express himself in CNL's pages. As editor, I will work diligently with authors to publish their ideas and to obtain wide-ranging colonial numismatic articles from different contributors by being fully engaged in the process.

The Research Forum section of CNL will reappear in 2017. At its heart, CNL is a research journal, solely dedicated to the advancement of colonial numismatic



knowledge through the encouragement and publication of articles relating to an in-depth analysis of colonial numismatic questions; this is what separates it from the *C4 Newsletter*, which has a much broader mission. Although the *C4 Newsletter* publishes high quality research articles, and CNL will, on occasion, publish non-research related materials, the two publications have a different mission and there is room in the hobby for both. Indeed, both are necessary for us to build on the advancements of the past 55 years.

There is a sense that all the big questions in the field of colonial numismatics have been settled; nothing could be further from the truth. From the beginning the focus of CNL has properly been on the state issued coinages, and this shall remain the primary focus. Some of what we think we know about state issued coinages is not accurate. Conclusions that were originally printed as conjecture 40 years ago are today repeated as established facts. In order to advance our research there are cases where we must correct errors and challenge accepted views in order to uncover the truth. It is my goal that every issue will advance our understanding of colonial numismatics in some meaningful way.

CNL will have at least one forum issue a year. In the forum issue, a topic will be discussed in-depth. Those subscribers who are experts on the forum topic will be contacted and encouraged to contribute. Similar to the great CNL editors of the past, like Mossman and Trudgen, I intend to be an active contributor of content when appropriate. Finally, I pledge to greatly increase the number of articles by the end of 2017. This will provide greater value to the subscribers and further the original objective of the publication to disseminate colonial numismatic knowledge. Like J. C. Spilman, who was at the helm of CNL for decades, I am an unpaid volunteer; I do this because it is my passion, a passion I wish to share with others.

– Christopher McDowell

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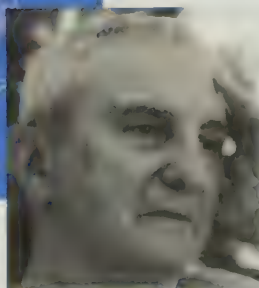
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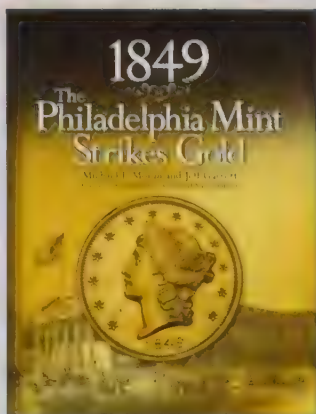
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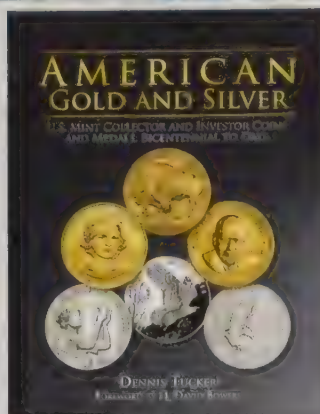
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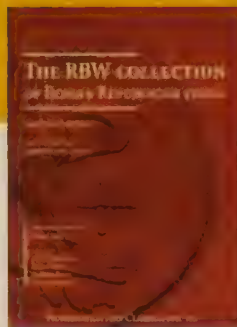
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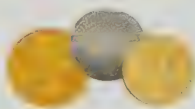
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Aureus, Rome, 196-197 AD
Laureate head of Septimius Severus
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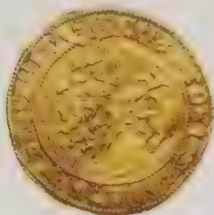
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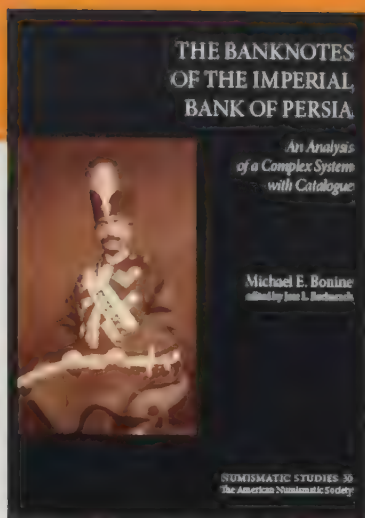
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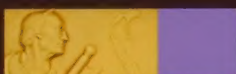


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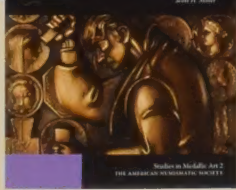
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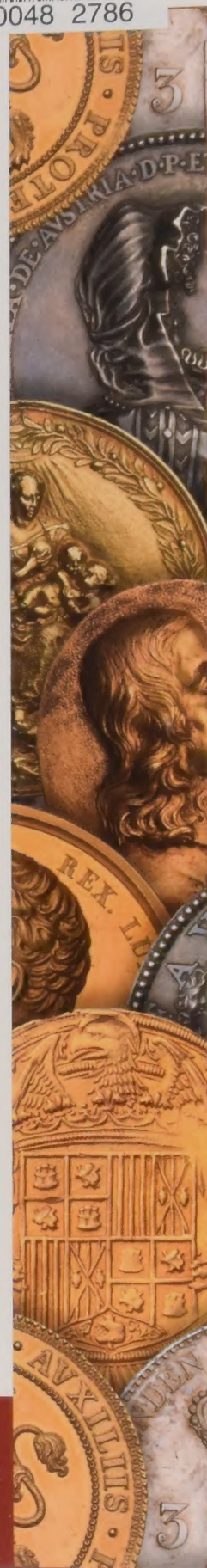
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